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## MASSAGING THE MEDIUM

Learning how to stay on message and build an image is tricky—ask Paul Martin

WE'VE BEEN having an issue, not surprisingly, with our almost-four-year-old son lately. Even though it's the dead of winter, he insists that he must wear only short-sleeved shirts. My wife and I, prior to involving doctors by telling him what he will wear, our permission first, we went out there that it's too cold for that, his long-sleeved shirts are more comfortable, and besides—the ultimate blandishment—those shirts look "way more cool." Not so that

movers him because, we learned, success or something—a threat or a bribe, a televisual act, a picture in a magazine—got to him first by convincing him that short-sleeved shirts make him look like "a baseball guy." Faced with such an insurmountable logic, we compromised, and now he wears his T-shirts over his heavier shirts.

Forget the father frustrations: our son is well prepared for a career in politics, or television. He has, after all, absorbed two key lessons that apply to both fields: the importance of image, and of deciding on a key message, then sticking to it.

Same with politics, where Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin took turns last week showing what happens when you slide by those television sets—on which, in Martin's case, you don't (page 18) and Paul Wilton's Back Page column). From the outset of the so-called Atlantic scandal involving federal government spending in Quebec, Chrétien's defiance amounted to arguing, in effect, that the end justifies the means. As PM, it was prepared to spend Quebec's last dollar whenever it took to keep Quebec in Canada. Never mind how ineptly those efforts, how wasteful, or how—surprise!—rewarding to Liberal friends in a united Canada was worth that to him. He delivered a straightforward message that was, like it or not, consistent. He provided clear options, you agree with his philosophy—or not. Either way, Chrétien's behavior was in keeping with his street-fighter image.

Paul Martin, meanwhile, tried to please everyone—and as so often happens then, pleased few. In public, his message was that he didn't know about the spending. In private, Martin led an assassin for Chrétien in crises after his testimony. We're left to

“In TV, the challenges of creating image and delivering message are subtle—perhaps too subtle”

conclude that despite being finance minister, he was out of the loop on a key program in his home province—but if he had known, he would have been first by it implying, abuses and all. I don't believe the last part to be true—Martin isn't wired that way—but that's what happens when you try too

hard to make nice to conflicting audiences. Memo to the PM and his spin doctors: stay on one consistent message.

Then there's TV, where the challenges of creating image and delivering message are subtle, as Lucane Quebec reports (page 36). With viewers tuning out commercials and post-air placement (using rehearsal segments, ads, and television producers are pulling product by inserting them) they're willing to let the good guy in Rielor Switzerland's best series 24 time Ford, while bad guys need to. Clear time, the idea is that the image is embedded to your subconscious—like my son's "baseball guy" shirts—and buying habits are affected accordingly. Thus, McLaughlin's famous diatribe is now true in reverse—when it comes to advertising, the message is the medium.

Anthony Wilson-Smith

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## MACLEAN'S

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## MACLEAN'S BEHIND THE SCENES



### THE HEART OF TSUNAMI

Shortly after the disaster, Maclean's National Correspondent Charlie Gillis and Chief Photographer Peter Bregg traveled to Banda Aceh on the northern tip of Sumatra in Indonesia to report on the Indian Ocean tsunami.

There, Bregg took a series of photographs which captured the physical destruction and the anguish of the survivors. Now a collection of 50 of those images is on display in the lobby of BCE Place in downtown Toronto. The photos, some of which appeared in Maclean's, show terrible suffering, but also moments of surprising lightness, such as the delighted look on a young girl's face as she lifts a frilly, white dress from an old package (above).

Bregg teamed up with World Vision Canada and Care Canada to put on the show for three reasons: to thank Canadians for their generosity, show them where their money went and help maintain awareness of the disaster which killed almost a quarter of a million people, 166,000 in Indonesia alone.

"We don't want people to forget what happened and we hope they continue to make donations," says Bregg. "The disaster's impact was compounded by the region's poverty, and many displaced people will likely stay in temporary camps another year or two, where they'll remain at risk until they move to permanent shelter."

Despite the terrible suffering he witnessed, Bregg was heartened by the remarkable resilience of the Indonesian people. "They would go from deep sadness to laughter," he says. "They're lovely, friendly people who will continue to need our help for a long time."

The photographs will be on display in the lobby of BCE Place at Yonge and Front streets, Toronto, until Feb. 28.

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# UPFRONT

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### Middle East | Can a handshake start this ball rolling?

As high-level meetings go, this one was peaceful on several fronts. It was the first time in four years that the prime minister of Israel and the president of the Palestinian Authority meted the same room. And in the corridor of the Egyptian resort where Ariel Sharon met Mahmoud Abbas, Israeli flags were displayed alongside those of the two hosts, Egypt and Jordan, and the Palestinian one.

That symbolic gesture would have been unthinkable just a few months ago, while the Arab world was reeling in anger from what it felt was Israel's overly harsh response to the Palestinians uprising.

Make no mistake and it was the absence of any hostility, disguised or real, behind what the world saw were two very businesslike, sober handshakes in suits, almost like rival CEOs, trying to build a peace process one brick at a time. First came a cautious, though both leaders carefully avoided the term. Abbas promised to cancel his military in the Gaza Strip, and Sharon will pull his troops from five West Bank cities and stop assassinating Palestinian fighters. The likely next step: more face-to-face talks in Ramallah, the Palestinian head

quartets, and perhaps even a Sharon's march. Washington has invited both men, separately, to visit in the spring. Canada, too, has volunteered to play referee.

The message here is, slow and easy. Both leaders are vulnerable. Israel's foreign minister, Shimon Peres, launched a public campaign to fight Sharon's plan to remove Israeli settlers from Gaza. But Abbas's role is even riskier. The militant group Hamas denounced such a gesture by declaring it was not necessarily backed by the deal, some of his supporters then launched rock and mortar at Israeli settlers in Gaza. Abbas responded with equal alacrity, headed off three of his top security commanders, and then read the text to the nearly 4,000-strong security forces he has stationed in the region—killing his predecessors, the late Yasser Arafat, would not have done that, and the fact that he could even meet with Sharon is a very public, risky step he just enough to keep this process moving along.

## ScoreCard



### POLITICAL CAPITAL

George W. Bush tables "united" budget with 2001, 4-year plan rolled over five years, not counting 2001 of Iraq war. Bushites adopt new economic model: chronic deficits as long as Republicans do the overspending.



### JEAN CHRISTIAN

Exiled into Country Canada. Liberal to get out of country in unity crisis. Repeating scenarios with no negotiated path and little of the peace in the border. But say who once wanted state carving if intruder always had a unique defence.



### MIXED

James Thorne explains by publishing his guide for migrants: often the same who die each year trying to live in the US. Uncle Sam is far from with condoms in schools, what's the point of it all? Player's Guide to Her-Smart Dealing?



### CAMILLA

Prince Charles's pal set about to become a duchess after long period of strange rituals. Diana called her "the baroness," regarding Camilla is so fierce as she is patient who knows why she can seem some time into Harry.



## WORLD

**NUCLEAR WEAPONS** After years of denial, North Korea now admits to having developed nuclear weapons and is refusing to resume the long-running disarmament talks with the U.S., China and others. The renegade state said it needs its bombs to defend itself against what it sees as an increasingly belligerent White House. There is no hard evidence North Korea has actually tested a nuclear device. To try to force Pyongyang back to the negotiating table, Japan is sending its ships to meet North Korean ships.

**ETA** Basque separatists exploded a powerful car bomb at a prestigious Madrid art fair, wounding over 40 people just hours before the event was to be opened by King Juan Carlos and visiting Mexican President Vicente Fox. The attack, preceded by a warning call from the separatist ETA, came a week after the government rejected a proposal by the Basque regional parliament for a quasi-independent relationship with Madrid.

**TORTURE** Lawyers for 18-year-old Omar Khadr, a Canadian alleged to have killed a U.S. soldier in Afghanistan, claim he was routinely tortured by U.S. interrogators at the detention facility in Guantanamo Bay.

## ROMANCE BY THE NUMBERS

Nearly seven in 10 adult Canadians (69%) are planning something special this Valentine's Day, according to a Statistics Canada poll. But the numbers vary by region.

The most ardent celebrators:  
Quebecers 77%

The least ardent:  
British Columbians 61%

Reason most commonly given for not celebrating: too commercial a holiday (31%). However, an unusually high number of Atlantic Canadians (37%) report they won't celebrate Valentine's Day this year because they are just too busy.

SOURCE: POLLING, SAMPLED 1,274  
STATISTICS CANADA © 2005

Cuba, Khadr has never been charged during his nearly three years in captivity. His lawyers say he was shackled, forced to lay on the floor for long periods, and then "used as human nap" to clean up his own urine.

In Britain, meanwhile, a TV reality show carried out what it said were *Guantanamo torture techniques* on seven volunteers.

One left the show after seven hours, having developed "hypertension," while two others wanted during the ordeal.

**WORKERS UNITE** Despite massive protests, France's parliament took the first step in dismantling the country's cherished 35-hour workweek, a decade-long experiment designed to spread moral responsibility. Under the new rules, private-sector employees would be able to work up to 48 hours each week, the European Union limit.

**THE POPE** Pope John Paul II returned to the Vatican after 30 days in hospital. He was treated for *breastfeeding problems* associated with the flu. Still frail, the 84-year-old Pontiff issued a statement of support for the sick, saying their suffering is linked to Christ's ordeal.

The Vatican also issued a new manual aimed at tightening the rules for *annulments*, commonly called "the Catholic divorce." About 30,000 annulments are issued in North America yearly, according to one report.

## HEALTH | SCIENCE

**CLONING** Ian Wilmut, the Scottish-based scientist who created Dolly the sheep, the world's first cloned mammal, has begun press-



## VOTING 101

Saudi men line up at cast ballots in stage one of what is planned as the country's first nationwide election. Allotted one with a number of strings attached. The vote was to elect half the members of municipal councils in this Riyadh area; the other half will be appointed. Only men over 21 were allowed to vote. Still, for an absolute monarchy, it was a beginning.



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Mary Janigan | ON THE ISSUES



## THE RENAISSANCE MAN

John Turner's mission to Ukraine shows how elder statesmen can still contribute

**LIBERAL STEPHEN LEDEW** can't really recall his first suggestion in the late 1990s to an international journalist to write "Why Don't we appoint John Turner as our next governor general?" former party president LeDrew asked as the former PM knew every nook of Canada, its people and its history. "He's a national treasure," LeDrew added, incredulous and aghast, the Christian affair could only happen there was more much autonomy between these two former leadership rivals. Had LeDrew lost his mind?

Sure enough, for more than a decade, Turner was largely ignored by the Christian Liberals. He remained a presence in his prestigious Toronto law firm, quietly making non-partisan speeches for long-time causes such as parliamentary reform. It was only last December, when Paul Martin asked him to lead a 500-person delegation of election observers to Ukraine, that his political career finally gained. "His very presence muted the accusations that delegators," mused Paul Grod, who led a parallel observer team from the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. "John Turner is expressing a renaissance."

For the estimated 1.1 million Ukrainian Canadians, the 75-year-old statesman is a great gift. The congress has asked him to push a high-profile, Ukraine-Canada advisory group that could help Ukraine

“His new profile raises unsettling questions about the endless feeding between the Martin and Christian forces”

as well abroad could mean ethnic votes at home. Turner himself seems modest. "I believe in democracy and Ukraine was a classic example of democracy trying to breathe," he says. "Now we have got to reach out to them, to enhance our trade and our cultural relationships."

The week-long trip certainly tested his political skills. Turner's former aide, Marc Kucley, who accompanied him, says that on the flight to Ukraine, Turner protested Canadian bureaucrats would try to lure him to deserted meetings with Ukrainian officials that they couldn't otherwise secure. Several times, over diplomats proposed talks that had nothing to do with his mission, Turner emphatically refused to attend. He also astutely counselled Martin to wait until Ukraine's supreme court ruled the latest election results before granting recognition. "He knew it was a very delicate situation," says Kucley.

So what's next? Turner occasionally delivers historical speeches about everyone from Sir John A. Macdonald to Winston Churchill. He championed ordinary MPs—once he first appeared as a backbencher in 1963—"The role of MPs has diminished because of the strength of the bureaucracy, party discipline and the cult of leadership," he says, demanding proportional representation as an illusion that merely mimics parliamentary government. And Ukrainian Canadians never hear him.

But John Turner's new profile also raises unsettling questions about the destructive effects of the Liberals' endless feuds as Martin and Christian forces still squabble. The enemy is visceral: a feud from Christian's PMO once he is an Ottawa-area parking lot, naming the names of Turner's birthday guests. But the ones who have really paid the price for this indulgence, if only in lost expertise, are the voters.

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## Passages

**STEPPING DOWN** Richard Monette, the suave artistic director of Ontario's Stratford Festival, will leave from the theatre's top post at the end of the 2007 season. Monette, 68, has been an institution at Stratford for 35 years—first as an actor, then a director.

**NOMINATED** When he was wrestling gold at the 2000 Summer Olympics, Danelle Hiji was at the top of his game. Now the Nigerian-born athlete with the winning smile wants to try his hand



in a new arena. Hiji, 31, will be a Liberal candidate in suburban Kamey in the B.C. provincial election on May 17.

**SENTENCED** He was convicted in December of the vicious beating death of a gay man, Aaron Webster, in Vancouver's Stanley Park in 2001—an incident that helped convince Ottawa to designate gay-bashing a hate crime. Last week, Ryan Cross, 23, was sentenced to one year in prison. But the Crown said it could not argue the attack was motivated by hate, arguing family and friends of the dead man. Two teens are already serving three years for the killing; the maximum under the Young Offenders Act.

**DIED** Lesk Sarter, a farmer and hockey pamphlet, married such fine words as in his own state of them ended up playing in the NHL. Sarter died in hospital in his hometown of Wilkes, Ala., after a long illness. He was 75.



**DIED** An astute, dignified man, he was one of America's greatest playwrights, responsible for such lasting works as *The Crucible* and *Death of a Salesman*. But Arthur Miller's literary three was often overshadowed by his companionous five-year marriage to actress golden *Matilyn Moore*, which ran into a pop culture madhouse. Miller died of heart failure in his Connecticut home after a battle with cancer. He was 89.

## THE FACTS &amp; INTERVIEW



Deals with Feds | LORNE CALVERT, SASKATCHEWAN PREMIER

## ‘DON’T CONFUSE OUR PRAIRIE CIVILITY WITH NOT BEING STUBBORN’

**HE CLAIMS HE’S NO MATHEMATICIAN**, but Saskatchewan Premier Lorne Calvert figures he knows when things don’t add up. While he’s not after the ultimate deal that Newfoundland and Nova Scotia reached recently with Ottawa, Calvert says it’s time to revisit the arcane rules of Canada’s 48-year-old equalization formula that, in effect, penalize provinces when their resources from natural resources increase.

**What are Saskatchewan’s concerns with the equalization program?**

Economist Tim Cantrac wrote the definitive paper on how equalization affects Saskatchewan negatively. He demonstrated that the national government closed back \$1.10, and investments as much as \$1.25,

for each dollar we generated in resource revenue. This means that the more you develop your resources, the more your fiscal reality is, doesn’t work.

**What should be changed?**

Formerly, we’ve made the case that

needs to be a separate approach to non-renewable resources like oil and gas. With the Atlantic Accord, we’ve the principle now established that the resource revenues of a province, particularly how that could come, extraordinary costs to retrieve, need to be seen as separate and apart from equalization. We think that’s the right principle.

**Why not just blow up the whole program?**

We’re one of the few that has been both a “have” and a “have-not” province, so we’ve seen both sides of the equation. There’s a lot about equalization I think needs to be fixed, but I would not want to see the principle that all Canadians have more or less equal access to services.

**What do you think of how Barry Williams got his deal for Newfoundland?**

We need to represent the communities from which we come. I believe in the application of the same logic. My people are proud to be from Saskatchewan, but they are also proud Canadians and would not tolerate the removal of the Canadian flag. That said, people should not confuse our Prairie civility with not being stubborn or determined.

**How is Saskatchewan’s rural economy doing?**

We’re never giving back to the resources of our province. A grain collection point in each community still, there’s tremendous opportunity in rural communities. We made a determined effort to see the economic province, down to a minimum of 200 people. By the end of 2006, 85 per cent of the province should have high-speed access. We’ve got people in rural areas doing tremendous business because they have access.

There’s still huge strength in agriculture and that’s because we developed niche markets. They’ve seen us lately in Lebanon’s 90th anniversary now represents about seven per cent of Saskatchewan’s GDP, it used to be more like 50 per cent. It’s not so much that the value of agricultural production has fallen, everything else kind of grew around us.

**What do you think of Carter’s deal?**

I have it. It seems to have captured the way we are in Saskatchewan. Still, I think even Brian Trott would say we’re all a bit out of sync. I thought there was a market for that sort of humour, but I won’t say how big it would be.

**TESTIFYING AT THE SPONSORSHIP** inquiry last week was billed as an unrelenting chase for Paul Martin. There was the indignity of being the first witness prime minister since Sir John A. Macdonald to be grilled by a commission probing a scandal, and the awkwardness of having to explain how, as former minister of Jean Chrétien's regime, he failed to oversee massive misuse of sponsorship money. To make matters worse, Chrétien had put on quite a show at the inquiry just two days before—a tough act to follow. Yet there's another way of looking at Martin's day on the stand: a nice change of pace. The mess he might otherwise have been attending to are considerably divisive. From same-sex marriage to

misdeeds, global warming to daycare, his government is plunging ahead with an unusually risky agenda.

Since the Gomery commission is preoccupied with events from the 1990s, Martin was able to discuss how he operated as fi *scout* (albeit—one of his favourite subjects) in these days, he was at his goal-oriented best, focused solely on turning the federal deficit. But as Prime Minister, he has yet to prove that his can master the far wider range of issues that demand his attention. Aside from last fall's health accord with the provinces, he has few election-worthy accomplishments so far to point to—a risky

**FROM** same-sex marriage to missile defence to daycare, Martin is plunging ahead with a difficult agenda

position for a prime minister heading a minority that could fall on short notice. That makes next week's federal budget even more important than usual. Finance Minister Hugh Flinn, as chief budgetary officer, must play for Chrétien, must allocate the money needed to jumpstart a more active phase for this government. The Liberals' long-promised push for a national energy plan and an ambitious set of environmental measures are expected to score new funding.

But these three thrusts highlight the risks Martin faces. Social Development Minister Ken Dryden may have to work in Vancouver with his provincial counterparts to try to advance a deal on child care and early learning. The cost of Dryden's policy—\$5 billion over the next years, easily targeted at high-quality daycare space—is not an obvious virtue.

Orbiter and Alberta are considering any deal that meets the Ottawa setting standards. The reaction of Canadian parents is a potentially bigger problem. A Statistics Canada report last week showed that 47 per cent of kids have no more than five years old have a stay at home parent. Of those being taken care of by somebody else, 31.5 per cent were with a relative, up 41 per cent over six years. That compares to 25 per cent in daycare centres, up 26 per cent in the same period.

Why do budget numbers and faster growth in kids being looked after by relatives? A recent Vancouver Institute of the Family study found that parents with daycare centres be-

hind having a stay-at-home mom or dad or a grandparent care for young children. Those numbers suggest they can hardly count on immediate water approval for his vision.

On environmental policy, the profits have less to do with piggybacking than a greenish clash with powerful companies. Goodale has signalled that he budget will take steps to rein in Canada's greenhouse gas reduction targets under the Kyoto climate change agreement. Environmental groups have high hopes. "We're expecting incentives for companies to buy hybrids and highly efficient cars," says Sheri LeClair of Canada policy adviser John Henson. Environment Minister Stéphane Dion, displaying the fierceness he was famous for as Chrétien's designated bulldog on Quebec issues, is pressing car and truck makers to deliver an overall 25 per-cent emissions

reduction. Sources say auto companies are trying to satisfy Dion with plans of their own, making the spectre of a messy showdown with some of Canada's biggest employers.

Only one major policy file seems to have been wrangled up nicely in recent weeks: John Godefrey, the infrastructure and communities minister, announced on Feb. 1 how \$5 billion over five years—a share of the federal gas tax to support municipalities—would be divided among provinces and territories. The money will flow to cities and towns for projects from municipal sewage treatment. Most municipal leaders are happy with the deal. Ad-

dmin remains to be seen in Goodale's budget is how the \$5 billion is spread out over the five-year period.

The more problematic are two issues that have less to do with cash than constitutional concerns and moral defence. Gay marriage legislation is slated to come up for debate in the House this week, and Liberal officials say they expect Martin to lead it off with a key speech. Government strategists are not inclined to engage a time limit on the debate—a long history of the vote

is likely. Whether a similarly heated debate on George W. Bush's missile shield program will ever happen on the floor of the Commons, though, is uncertain. Powerful voices in the government want to sign on to the U.S. plan, but Martin faces too much opposition among his own MPs to have any confidence of winning a vote. Rather than preparing Canadian participation and risking the House's rejection, insiders say the Prime Minister may now be looking for a way to say back from the controversy. With as many bulls in the air as Chrétien carries in his briefcase, Martin might have to let them loose. **FI**

## BEYOND A STUNT

**BY** NOW THE image of a supremely confident Jean Chrétien displaying golf balls at witness John Gomery's inquiry into the sponsorship affair is firmly planted in Canadian political lore. In case anybody is still mystified about the subject, Gomery had told a journalist that Chrétien's allowing his signature to be embellished on a \$1.2 million worth of customized balls, bought at public expense when he was prime minister, was "small town cheap." So when Chrétien opened a briefcase at the hearing to show off his collection of similar souvenir balls given to him, among others, several galling U.S. presidents, pundits cringed him with having pulled off a brilliant stunt. Yet its significance was not widely discussed.

In his ill-fated anti-Christmas interview, Gomery made several controversial statements—notably that he regarded



the sponsorship program as a "celebration." While it was strange that he would express that view to himself in the middle of his commission's work, his remark about Chrétien's golf balls, though more offhand in tone, was equally much more mischievous. After all, Gomery appeared to view a deadline for Chrétien's style that a reminder to the mismanagement of public funds that he is charged with investigating. So his effective firing back, Chrétien understood the slight. Now, if Gomery's final report puts any blame for the affair directly on Chrétien, it is inevitable that such a finding would be read, at least by some, in the context of a tension between these powerful men that goes beyond the facts of the affair. It's personal. **LD**

# A RISKY ROAD AHEAD

There are worse things than a Gomery grilling, writes JOHN GEDDES

# HAPPILY EVER AFTER?

It's not quite the stuff of fairy tales, but the Prince of Wales is finally marrying his long-time love

**AN HEIR TO THE THRONE** follows with a disorienting warren—royal watchers have seen this movie before. But what a difference seven decades makes. In 1936, after King George V died, Edward VIII's desire to wed his mistress, Wallis Simpson, became a polarizing crisis for Britain and the empire that was only resolved when he abdicated. Last week, when Prince Charles announced his engagement to divorcee Camilla Parker Bowles, the response was muted congratulations, not constitutional crisis. Charles's mom, Queen Elizabeth II, declared she was "very happy," sons Prince William, 22, and Harry, 10, were "delighted," while Prince Minister Tony Blair called it a "very happy news."

Hardly rapturous exclamations, but quiet acceptance is clearly what Charles, 56, wants for his 35-year-old relationship with Camilla, 57. They first met in 1970, but soon drifted apart. She married army officer Andrew Parker Bowles in 1973. (They have two children: Tim, 30, and Laura, 26.) Her relationship with Charles resumed a few years later, but with marriage them unjoinable, the Prince of Wales became engaged to a young Lady Diana Spencer in 1981. The new bride was so intensely jealous

of Charles and Camilla's relationship, convinced they were having an affair. Finally, after the royal marriage broke down in the mid '90s, suspicion became reality. But Charles and Camilla's intimate relationship was kept private until the 1992 publication of Andrew Morton's *Dance for the Story*, chronicling the princess's version of her troubled marriage. The book published not to get it mildly, admit Charles for choosing a dimly, middle-aged woman over his beautiful young wife. Camilla, called in the press a marriage wrecked, retained no royal status.

Camilla and her husband divorced in 1995 (he quickly remarried), and she moved into a house near Charles's country mansion. When the prince and Diana divorced a year later, he and Camilla began to appear together at private functions. But after Diana's 1997 death in a Paris tunnel turned her into a popular saint, it was another two years before the pair could be seen together openly. It was another year and a half before a public peek on her death. The rules for appearances quickly emerged. Every situation had to be non-threatening to the memory of Diana. That

Camilla can be seen with Charles without attracting the heat that Diana did



## THE THINGS ROYALS SAY

"My great-grandmother was your great-great-grandfather's mistress, so how about it?"

—What Camilla reportedly said to Charles in the early 1970s, referring to Alice Keppel, long time mistress of Edward VII

"The Rothweiler."

—Diana's name for Camilla

"Oh, you're going to come back as a pair of knickers."

"Or, God forbid, a Tampax."  
—Camilla and Charles in a taped conversation released in 1993

"There were three of us in this marriage, so it was a bit crowded."

—Diana discussing her marriage's collapse, in a 1995 BBC interview



In Diana's version of events, Camilla, shown at her side in 1985, was a marriage wreckers. The older woman, already married to Parker Bowles when photographed with Charles at a polo match in 1985, allegedly encouraged him to marry the young Lady Spencer.

course, above all, that Camilla was never seen with Prince William or Harry. She never talked about her relationship to the press. (There was never, of course, any possibility of competition on the hair, beauty and clothes front.)

So what is it about Camilla? Personally discreet, with a good sense of humor, she enjoys gardening, huzzing and horses—the same country pastimes Charles and the son of the royal line like. She can even turn out of the clunko herself into wine, and won't attract a fraction of the public ire that beset about Diana.

## OTHER ROCKY ROMANCES

The royals have a history of marriages gone wrong

Charles isn't the only British heir to the throne with a colorful romantic history.

Sophia Dorothea of Celle was 16 when she married the future George I in 1682. The marriage wasn't a success. George was interested in horses and women, she was beautiful but unrefined, and got involved

with a disreputable colonel. George found out and divorced her. Sophia Dorothea was imprisoned in a castle for the last 12 years of her life and never saw her children again. As far as her lover, he disappeared permanently, apparently on George's orders.

When the future George IV first set eyes on Caroline of Brunswick in 1795, he sensed a trouble, quickly. She was stocky, unattractive, lacked all common sense and didn't wash much. The negative marriage was nec-



essary, with Caroline thinking him "very stout" and not at all like his portraits. The wedding passed in an alcoholic haze. The marriage was disastrous. When he got the throne in 1820, George attempted to divorce Caroline, but the pro-consort House of Lords were chaotic and ultimately collapsed amid bickering details. After a failed attempt to galecrash his coronation, she died less than three weeks later.



ALL IN THE FAMILY



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# OTTAWA DRUG BUST?

The federal health minister's plan to take on Internet pharmacies has struck fear in the hearts of workers in the \$1-billion-plus business

**IT'S SUNNY AND -10°C**, not too bad considering how cold it can get here in southern Manitoba. The only thing missing is the occasional passenger car or transport truck, idling in a corner built off the east side of Highway 3. The immediate area, 55 km southwest of Winnipeg, is predominantly far from farmland with a few patches of rice. An icy gravel road leads visitors to the doorstep of HometownMedi.com, an Internet pharmacy near the town of Carleton Place, tucked down next to a windswept field on

which a farmer grew lentils last year.

Inside HometownMedi.com, one of Manitoba's smaller providers of Internet prescription drugs to the U.S., Sandy Robinson operates his OpenE-11 system, a \$2-million, automated pill dispenser the size of four refrigerators placed side by side. Robinson, one of the firm's 25 employees, is concerned that federal Health Minister Ujjal Dosanjh, bending to pressure from U.S. President George Bush, might legislate an end to the hugely successful industry, throwing out and 2,000 other Manitobans out of work. "It would be devastating for the community and the province," says Robinson, a 40-year-old resident of the "furnace here, job opportunities are harder to find."

Despite recent and widely covetous words about not wanting to put the kibosh on a \$1-billion-plus business, Dosanjh has made it abundantly clear in the past month he is prepared to take on Canada's Internet pharmacies. Canadian companies selling prescription medications to U.S. patients don't yet have a very strong regulatory oversight, and could lead to drug shortages and cost increases in Canada. He's mulling the creation of a regulatory task force that are running low. It'll all-out offensive follow-back Bush's visit to Canada in early December, when the President needs the issue of Canadian drugs and undercutting U.S. relations with Prime Minister Paul Martin. Some critics have even speculated about a direct trade-off deal to the flow of cheap drugs in exchange for the reopening of the border to Canadian beef after the mad cow scare. Ottawa denies that has been any

**'JUST about everyone's online,' says a supervisor for one company. 'I don't see why a pharmacy can't be.'**

major price controls here, the same drug from Canadian pharmacies—many originally shipped north from their U.S. manufacturers—can cost anywhere from 40 to 80 per cent less than from their U.S. counterparts. Then there's the workforce. "If we were to lose 2,000 jobs in Manitoba," says Charlie McDougall, a spokesman for the province's Industry Department, "that would be like losing 27,000 jobs in Ontario." Manitoba employs the most Internet pharmacy workers in the country, with other provinces—primarily British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick—bringing the total number of workers nationwide to about 4,000. If operations are forced to shut down, many are expected (and some are already planning) to pull up stakes and set up shop in Europe, low-

cost. But big Pharma likes what it's hearing from the feds. "We're gratified the government seems to be recognizing some of the issues, and that action needs to be taken," says Don Saxton, corporate affairs director at Pfizer Canada Inc. in Montreal. If the Internet drug trade were under in Canada, up to two million Americans would find themselves without a ready source of affordable medicines. Because of govern-



Consolidated in Winnipeg is among those selling drugs online to Americans.

ing behind—maybe a few collectors. "Mr. Dosanjh," says McDougall, "is just trying to make his finger in the e-commerce dial."

McDougall's line is reinforced, the kind of civility second-hand spokespeople get paid to dream up. But even industry leaders are loath to compromise. "Can't we be the affiliate to the U.S. and all that?" asks Paul Clark, one of HometownMedi.com's owners. "The answer is no." There simply aren't enough drugs to go around, he says. Clark favors burning wholesale exports to, for example, U.S.

manufacturers and visas with employee drug benefit plans. He would also welcome a registry to monitor the supply chain. If a province runs low on, say, cholesterol-lowering Lipitor, the Internet pharmacies would be obliged to turn down U.S. orders. "That's a compromise that's out there," says Clark. "We can't run business on that." No one's given us a good answer. "If the industry is shut down, he adds, "the Europeans at this point in time are more than happy to see it. They see the U.S. market as this big

market for insurance, but won't be bound by it if it seems necessary to act."

There's another angle in well. Saxton at Pfizer Canada points out that the U.S. Congress is weighing a handful of bills which, if adopted, would allow for greater wholesale imports into the U.S. from Canada. That, he says, would drive Canada's drug supplies. David MacKay, executive director of the Canadian International Pharmacy Association, which represents about 40 Web operations, says none of those bills have any chance of becoming law in the face of pressure from industry lobbyists in Washington. Saxton, he says, is just trying to scare people. "The Republicans will never permit drug importation because big Pharma won't permit it," says MacKay. "It's fear-mongering. He's trying to push that button and scare Canadians into closing their border on behalf of the U.S."

Jeffrey Uhl, president and owner of UniversalDrugs.com, located in an industrial park near Winnipeg's airport, ultimately expects a deal that will keep his 198 employees working. But big Pharma and Ottawa need to turn down the rhetoric. "They have a lot of people on the street thinking we're stealing their drugs from them," says Uhl—though, in fact, there have been no documented drug shortages in Canada. The health community's go-slow approach,

focused on studying the industry, is the way to go, Uhl adds. "It'll do nothing but help us. They'll see we can do business without harming Canadians."

Currently customers in the U.S. are hoping for a solution. Denise Mac Dowell, a 77-year-old Canadian who has lived for decades in Hildesheim, Ala., lost her husband to prostate cancer last September. But his bill, she says, was propped up by the cancer medication Cansider. She bought it from HometownMedi, which charged her about US\$500 for a 90-day supply—compared to roughly twice that in the States.

Canadian workers are keen to keep providing that service. Maureen Lemley, an office supervisor, has worked at HometownMedi for more than two years. Married and living in Carleton Place, a five-minute drive away, Lemley, 28, knows they aren't a lot of jobs in the farm fields that surround her. "It's really tough to find work around here," she says, "unless you're willing to drive an hour there and an hour back. It



took me a year to find that job." She'd also read the cartoon: "You have some really great people for the phone. Your heart goes out to them. They'll say, 'Because of you, I can pay my rent!'"

Doctors working for the Internet outlier on sign prescriptions sent from the States. That's where Denise Verville comes in. As a pharmacy technician at Universal Drug stores in Winnipeg, the 32-year-old single mom of two children, ages 7 and 8, had to take an eight-month course before landing a job in which she fills the prescriptions. They are then double-checked by a pharmacist. Verville earned \$12,000 in student loans and needs the work. "If I lose my job, the government's going to be supporting me," says Verville, who makes \$14 an hour. "To find another job like this is just impossible. It wouldn't hurt me if it would hurt my children. It's all about the dollar. Well, what about those people who aren't going to have that dollar anymore?"

The whole process, of course, is controversial. The B.C. College of Physicians and Surgeons fined two doctors \$25,000 each in December for approving prescriptions for U.S. patients they never examined. The

A crackdown would be "devastating" for their community and for themselves, says Robinson.

college called it "unprofessional." More recently, the college fined a doctor \$4,000 and suspended his license for two years for committing the same offense, then lying about it. Obviously, some ground rules are needed. But safety—given the myriad bar codes and checks and counter checks by

**IF THE sector went under in Canada, up to two million Americans would lose a ready source of affordable medicine**

pharmacists at Internet operations—doesn't appear to be compromised. As for U.S. patients, the industry says that they get a pharmacist's license number and check with the provincial regulator to make sure it's a reputable source.

Robert Fraser, director of pharmacy at CanadaDrugs.com, oversees one of the premier online operations. Filling up re-

3,000 prescriptions daily, CanadaDrugs.com, the outskirts of Winnipeg, employs almost 300 people. It's all done, with more than 100 workstations, in a mass of tele phones and computer screens. Industry and provincial regulations, plus the latest technology, ensure unparalleled accuracy in filling prescriptions, says Fraser. "We've got pricing in a horrendous number of orders, distancing eyes and moving on to the next one," he says. "It's exceptional care."

For workers in the business, the uncertainty is taking its toll. Susan Duka, a 57-year-old customer service rep at Universal Drugstore, knows that, at her age, another employer is unlikely to hire her. Married with three children, she's concerned about her own future and about the U.S. patients who've come to rely on a cheaper route from Canada. "I've gone home tonight when I've wanted to cry," says Duka, her eyes welling with tears. "It really bothers me." Glen Nivet, 43, supervisor of billing and shipping at CanadaDrugs, says that, far from disappearing, the industry should be the future. "Just about everyone's online," he says, citing retailers and others. "I don't see why a pharmacy can't be."



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# PAIN OF THE PILL MAKERS

But Big Pharma's problems may be a benefit to ordinary taxpayers



**IF THE PERFORMANCE** charts of U.S. pharmaceutical giants were hanging at the end of a hospital bed, you'd be ordering flowers. Their dismal track record could even be a sign that funeral flowers for the popular will be on order earlier than a funeral program.

A financial death-casting disease has been slowly, but inexorably, chewing its way through the resources of the companies that long peddled the medicines on billion-dollar makers. Those worried firms that discovered, tested and distributed most of those wonder drugs that have lengthened our lives are in deep trouble. If you are an investor who has owned these

shares, retired for decades to high-quality growth stocks, you've already felt the pain. But the sustained price plunge of shares of the world's top drug companies has wider implications.

Why have shares of leading drug manufacturers Merck and Pfizer (and those of many of their competitors) plummeted 40 per cent and 18 per cent respectively since October 2002, when the Dow Jones industrial average reached its recent low point? Since then, the Dow shot up from the bottom of the bear market with a 45 per cent increase. For six years, I have been telling

investors to avoid these stocks, or, in investment lingo, "underweight" them. My argument was—tell it to—that these companies have ceased to be growth oriented because they are having great difficulty in finding and

**AS NEW drug offerings dwindle and as patents on existing drugs expire, health-care costs will inevitably decline**

bringing to market new blockbuster drugs to replace, in sales and profits, those whose patents are expiring.

The drug giants should be valued like oil and gas companies, so they're finding enough of the right stuff each year to replace what they're producing? As oil and gas company reports usually try to "reserve life index," the number of years it would take to deplete all the proven reserves it has developed. With an major company like Royal Dutch/Shell, a notion that it has truly overestimated its proven reserves and is therefore selling its reserve life index by 24 per cent, from 12.5 years to 8.5 years, that's big news—and not just for Shell's unfortunate stockholders.

It's not really different for the drug makers. On average, a takes a pharmaceutical company more than a decade and about \$US800 million in spending to bring a new drug to market. It then has 10 to 12 years to market the drug before its patent rights expire. Therefore, the drug becomes a generic product, and the scores of usually small generic drug manufacturers can file for approval to make and distribute it. These generic one-ups the drug probably for a very fraction of what the major company has charged, because they spend almost no money on research. They make their money off the brains, technology and risk-taking of the big companies. In fact, generic drug companies have discovered as many blockbuster drugs as Asian DVD players have created blockbuster movies.

Since the middle of the 1990s, Big Pharma has been running down its miracle inventory. As one blockbuster after another comes off patent, the companies have failed to introduce an equal or greater number of new ventures. Its reserve life index is shrinking.

Contributing to the shrinkage has been a troubling series of disasters for pharmaceuticals. Wonder drugs that had passed with flying colours through years of testing have turned out to be unsafe, unapproved, and sometimes horrendous side effects. Vioxx, an

effective painkiller for arthritis, apparently contributes to heart attacks among some users. Tapermin, the wonder drug for epilepsy, can cause a serious condition known as a stroke in up to two-thirds of users.

A respect of Canadian pharmacology who has supervised numerous drug company testing programs told me nearly a

## TAKE A VALIUM

As the rest of the markets recover from the burst bubble of 2000, the Dow Jones Pharmaceuticals Microsector Index has been heading in the opposite direction, as firms such as Bristol-Myers Squibb, Eli Lilly, Merck and Pfizer struggle

Monthly price returns



Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Bureau of Economic Analysis

decade ago that he wanted that some of the powerful new compounds coming from the labs might have unforeseeable side effects a few years after they reached a mass market. "We may be pushing the human envelope to its limit," he speculated.

That's what happened. The big companies are reeling from these catastrophes. Payments in lawsuits have been gigantic, and Merck, for one, faces billions of dollars in damages for heart attacks associated, roughly or wrongly, to Vioxx. Tort lawyers are accounting for data on almost every drug's side effects as they seek their next bonuses (after cigarettes and asbestos).

One inevitable result is that regulators will be more cautious about approving new drugs and more cautious about demanding extensive reports about potential side effects. Result: the cost of getting—and maintaining—U.S. approval for a drug will surely go up far past \$1 billion.

Drug companies earn more than half of their profits from sales in the U.S., where they are allowed to charge prices much when the market will bear. Abroad, where governments pick up most or all of the health bill, they're purchasing cost reduces the price—and profits—per pill. Meanwhile, many readers of this column are alive today because of drugs developed at the expense of U.S. consumers, who pick up most of the research bill for the entire world.

That is changing. Many U.S. politicians and activist groups have been promoting reports of drug costs from Canada, and governments both countries have begun conversations about arrangements where American citizens, some have so far been able to get Canadian doctors they've never seen to sign Internet prescriptions for their Canadian drugs.

In the long run, governments in U.S. countries are overcharged to finance drug company research that benefits the world-wide market. Why should it cost an American twice as much to buy a Merck product made in Canada as that drug costs in Canada? And now that George W. Bush has declared this purpose to provide prescription drug coverage for seniors through Medicare, Washington will be spending billions on drugs and will, in a crash, surely pressure the companies to narrow the chasm between U.S. and Canadian prices.

There's good news for governments, health insurers and pension plans in this bad news for Big Pharma. As new drug offerings dwindle and as patents on our drug giants' legacy, health care costs will decline. Agreements for a cholesterol-lowering statin that cost an American health insurer \$US300 today could cost \$US12 or less within five years. Name the price of any other essential good one must use daily and it will fall 88 per cent in the time.

Moreover, as supplies of new prescription drugs shrink, Social Security, Canada's Pension Plan and private pension plans will benefit, because the annual increase in projected life expectancy will shrink—or even disappear. For individuals, who'd been counting on a few more years in retirement, they may never come back. Retirement's accounts may sigh. "We've tried to know for whom Big Pharma's bell tolls. It tolls for thee."

Chicago-based Donald Cose is a Global Portfolio Strategist. RMD Financial Group doesn't trade in drugs.

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# MACLEAN'S





On many hit shows,  
the line between story and  
commercial has vanished.  
How embedded ads are  
changing what—  
and how—we watch.  
BY LIANNE GEORGE

# IS KIEFER SUTHERLAND TRYING TO SELL YOU SOMETHING?

IF THERE'S ONE TV character you want on your side in the event of a national security threat, it's Jack Bauer, dauntless thwarter of the Fox series' 24. Plopped with cool efficiency by Canadian Kiefer Sutherland, Bauer is the kind of guy who can crack computer codes, infiltrate criminal rings and even rescue devastation-fostered orphans. Naturally, he drives a Ford.

That's because, after the first season of 24 wrapped as a sleeper hit, the Ford Motor Co. signed a multi-million-dollar advertising deal with Fox—the most far-reaching of its kind at the time—to secure a piece of Bauer's cool for its brand. For two years, Ford sponsored the show's commercial-free season premieres, and in season three

it bookended the first episode with long-form, 24-themed ads. More importantly, the automaker "embedded" its vehicles into the action of the show, which is why Bauer does some of his best crime fighting in swept-up Escalades and Expeditions.

"It's totally done so it's really not an issue for me," says Sutherland, who also serves as an executive producer. "And it helps fund the show since we don't have to buy the cars." There have been reports of the odd creative conflict—like the time Ford proposed that Bauer chase around L.A. in its new F-150 truck, which producers felt wasn't realistic for a government agent. (They settled for a "guest starring" role for the F-150 as "showdown materials vehicle.") But for the most part, relations have been amiable. "Everything



they've asked us to do has been pretty standard," says Jon Cassar, another executive producer. Paid-only interfaces are hard to do but good things do come from it.

In some ways, Ford's arrangement with 24 seems odd. Product placement has been around in television since the '40s, when advertisers bought entire time slots for branded shows like *The Texaco Star Theater*. More recently, we've become accustomed to seeing familiar brands lined throughout TV families' kitchens and living rooms to add realism to the set. But increasingly, embedded advertising—or "product integration"—is becoming fundamental to how TV programs are conceived and produced. Corporations are convinced that having their brands built into the storylines of hit shows in order to piggyback on the emotional connections audiences have forged with the characters. A recent episode of ABC's *Desperate Housewives*, for instance, involved a lead character taking a job at a spokeswoman for Black, a major home advertiser. Similarly, an upcoming episode of the CTV drama *The Eleventh Hour* will feature Nicotina woven into a story about a character trying to quit smoking. For advertisers, this is simply one way of contributing unprecedented audience fragmentation and new technologies that allow people to opt through commercials. Better news, it's becoming increasingly tough to decipher when a Ford is just a Ford.

The trend is just heating up. By late 2004, embedded advertising emerged as one of the fastest-growing segments of the ad market.

In a recent interview, CBS chairman Les Moonves predicted that within five or four TV seasons, up to 75 per cent of all scripted, prime-time network shows will star products or services paid for by advertisers.

As a result, the branded entertainment industry, which barely existed a few years ago, is booming. Coke, by far the most often placed brand, has pledged to give a big chunk of its marketing budget over to various deals. Last month, Ford set up its own Hollywood "talent agency"—a showroom where TV ads can browse new models for possible featured roles. In Canada, ad industry giants like Quebec City's Cossette Communications Group and Toronto's Advertising & Design are setting up branded-entertainment affiliates to compete with the specialty firms that have so far dominated the deal-making. All of this has raised a predictable flurry of ethical concerns among media watchdogs on both sides of the border. "It's a whole cockamamie Wild West

right now," says Frank Zappa, CEO of TV's, a company that tests the effectiveness of embedded ads. "This is like the dot-com boom of the late '90s. The line between advertising and entertainment hasn't vanished yet, but it's certainly going that way."

**TRADITIONALLY**, the TV industry has relied on a tacit understanding with viewers: we agree to endure commercial breaks and, in exchange, they deliver our favorite shows virtually for free. Today's TV viewer, however, is a different breed—more savvy, impatient, and easily antagonized by a hard sell. "Consumers are really putting up a wall," says Luc Cormier of Cossette. "They're filtering out so much advertising as they can unless it's really relevant to them." Empowered to customize what we watch by new technologies—personal video recorders, Internet, gasoline-channel satellite and digital-cable feeds, DVDs, video-on-demand—we're increasingly refusing to abide com-



**SCRUBS** Hasbro unveiled a new edition of its classic '70s game *Question by Embedding* in 2004. In a recent episode of NBC's hit medical comedy, the cast engages in a raucous match. Hasbro promoted the alliance with a sweepstakes in which fans could win a trip to the *Scrubs* set.

#### QUEER EYE FOR THE STRAIGHT GUY

Placements on the reality show are said to translate into instant sales for sponsors like Ben & Jerry Brand Jeans. When Thom (the home decor guy) used a chair-sled hybrid in a home makeover and dubbed it a "chairs," the furniture chain that sells it reported customers flooding in asking for the chairs, and the product's sales more than tripled.



# Are your deposits protected?

**CDICSADC**  
Canada Deposit Insurance Corporation  
Société d'assurance des dépôts du Canada



## The facts about deposit insurance in Canada

- Knowing your coverage
- Financial planning matters
- Your questions answered

"It's money in the bank." The expression is used to describe a sure thing. And Canadian banks and other financial institutions certainly are stable and secure. But in business, as in life, we know that there is no such thing as a sure thing.

That's why the federal government established in 1967 the Canada Deposit Insurance Corporation (CDIC) to insure money you deposit in Canadian banks, trust companies and loan companies. ▶

## What is CDIC?

A federal Crown corporation, CDIC insures eligible deposits of up to \$60,000 per depositor at member institutions. If one of these institutions were to fail or go bankrupt, CDIC would reimburse your insured deposits. Over the years, CDIC has successfully dealt with the failure of 43 financial institutions. Today, it protects about \$376 billion in Canadians' deposits at over 80 member institutions. This is certainly one of the reasons to have confidence in the stability of Canada's financial system.

However, not all financial products are insurable even if they are purchased at a CDIC member institution. So if you are looking for a "sure thing", you should be aware of what is—and what isn't—insured to help you make better informed decisions about how and where you deposit your money.

### What's covered?

First of all, your deposits must be in Canadian currency and term deposits must be repayable no later than five years from the date of deposit. Deposits eligible for deposit insurance include financial products such as:

- savings and chequing accounts
- term deposits, such as Guaranteed Investment Certificates (GICs)
- money orders, drafts and certified cheques

The maximum basic coverage for all your eligible deposits at a single member institution is \$60,000, principal and interest combined.

In addition, CDIC provides separate coverage up to the \$60,000 maximum in each of the following categories:

- Joint deposits held in the name of two or more persons
- Deposits held in trust, for instance those held for a child
- Eligible deposits held in Registered Retirement Savings Plans (RRSPs)
- Eligible deposits held in Registered Retirement Income Funds (RRIFs).

If you want your deposits to be insured, make sure that the financial products you have in your RRSP and RRIFs fall in the category of those insured by CDIC.

### What's not covered?

Deposit insurance does not cover a number of deposits or investment products. Ineligible financial products include, amongst others:

- foreign currency deposits, like U.S. dollar accounts
- term deposits that mature more than five years after the date of deposit
- mutual funds
- stocks
- bonds issued by governments or corporations
- currency bills

### It's automatic

As a consumer, you do not have to apply for deposit insurance. Subject to coverage limits, eligible deposits are automatically insured. But your financial institution must be a member of CDIC for your deposits to be covered. Banks, trust companies and loan companies are all eligible. Credit unions and co-ops (excluding those that operate under provincial deposit insurance plans) are not. Look for the red and white CDIC decal at your local branch. If in doubt, call our toll-free number at 1-800-461-2342 or visit our website at [www.cdic.ca](http://www.cdic.ca).

## Your questions answered

Answers to some common questions about deposit insurance.

### Q: Are deposits held in a joint account insured for \$60,000 per joint owner?

No. The maximum coverage for all eligible deposits held jointly by the same owner remains at \$60,000 regardless of how many people are joint owners. But CDIC covers your joint deposits separately from any deposits you or the other owner(s) hold individually at the same CDIC member institution.

### Q: Is my Registered Retirement Savings Plan (RRSP) covered?

Some contents of your RRSP may be covered while others may not. That's because registered plans are not a type of investment; they are a plan into which you place investments of your choice. They may include both insurable deposits, such as GICs, and uninsurable investments, such as mutual funds. It is the eligible deposits within the plan that may be insured, not the registered plan itself.

### Q: Are deposits in Internet banks covered?

CDIC members include financial institutions that offer online and telephone alternatives to traditional branch banking. Ask your financial institution to see its list of products that are eligible for deposit insurance through CDIC. Or go to CDIC's website at [www.cdic.ca](http://www.cdic.ca) for a list of CDIC members.

### Q: How can I obtain coverage for deposits worth more than \$60,000?

You cannot buy additional coverage. The CDIC \$60,000 deposit insurance coverage limit is an amount set by the Parliament of Canada. But remember that there are five categories of deposits which are insured separately and which are covered up to \$60,000 each, even when held at a single financial institution.

Because CDIC covers up to \$60,000 in deposits per account holder at each member institution, you can also deposit funds at more than one member institution to gain additional protection in each category. On the other hand, deposits made in branches of the same financial institution would all be added together when calculating your maximum deposit insurance protection.

### Q: What if two financial institutions merge?

If two CDIC member institutions were to merge, insured deposits would continue to be covered separately by CDIC, even if the combination of the two sets of deposits exceeded the \$60,000 maximum. However, this separate coverage would end once you made a withdrawal or a term deposit matured.



Look for this decal at your financial institution. It tells you that it is a member of CDIC and that your deposits are protected there.

## Your savings are valuable. But are they protected?

To learn more about how CDIC protects your deposits, visit [www.cdic.ca](http://www.cdic.ca), call our toll-free information line at 1-800-461-2342, or simply ask where you bank or invest.

## Take the quiz

For answers to these and other questions, visit [www.cdic.ca](http://www.cdic.ca)

Which of the following investments (in Canadian currency) is a CDIC member institution is NOT eligible for deposit insurance coverage?

- a) A three-year GIC
- b) A savings account
- c) A mutual fund
- d) A chequing account

You plan to purchase a \$3,000 GIC in Canadian funds at a CDIC member institution. To be eligible for deposit insurance, what is the maximum term of this deposit?

- a) Three years
- b) Five years
- c) Ten years
- d) The term does not affect its eligibility

If within your RRSP you had \$35,000 in a savings account and \$50,000 in a term deposit, what would be the total value of your insured deposits?

- a) \$85,000
- b) \$35,000
- c) \$50,000
- d) \$50,600

A mutual fund purchased at a CDIC member institution is not eligible for deposit insurance coverage.

- a) true
- b) false

There has never been a financial institution failure in Canada.

- a) true
- b) false

CDIC member institutions must display a red-and-white sign at all their branches, indicating that the institution is a member of CDIC.

- a) true
- b) false

U.S. currency accounts at CDIC member institutions are not eligible for deposit insurance.

- a) true
- b) false

## Calculate your coverage at [www.cdic.ca](http://www.cdic.ca)

Use our online Deposit Insurance Calculator to determine how much of your savings and investments are insured by CDIC. Go to [www.cdic.ca](http://www.cdic.ca) and click on the link. The calculator will guide you through a series of questions to produce a personal report on your coverage based on the information you provide. Results are confidential.



## Cover | >

mercial interruptions and demanding a decision when, where and how much advertising we're going to absorb. Studies show that people with DVRs like TV ads are there to skip 93 per cent of ads. Based on the rapid pace of the technology's adoption, that means by the time this year's viewers will be fast-forwarding past US\$6.6-billion worth of commercials in the U.S. alone.

So forward-thinking advertisers are scrambling to make themselves unskippable by inserting their brands right into show plots. "With traditional advertising, your ad runs for only as long as you've paid for it," points out Nancy Star, creative director of ProSiege, a Vancouver brand-placement firm. The new model requires advertisers to make a one-time investment—but their messages have the potential to be seen over and over, thanks to syndication and DVRs. In some cases, companies are taking the idea of branded entertainment a step further by creating programs custom-made to reinforce the marketing push. This year, for example, Quebec's TVA will air the third season of the reality show *Ma Maison RDM*, about homeowners who create dream residences using products purchased at the Canadian home improvement chain. Viewers don't seem to mind the obvious tie-in: *Ma Maison*'s last season drew an impressive million weekly viewers in French Canada.

The big marketing show partnerships work, especially in scripted shows, as long as the embedded ads feel believable and seamless. Mary is the industry hold-up: *Scrubs*, with its classic *Pet*, *Scrubs*, *Scrubs* and *Junior* characters, is the epitome of smooth integration. There's no critical difference, however, between that show's practice and what happens today. *Scrubs* producers oppose any ads that would, the writers simply selected brands that they may use. "These episodes were built by Jerry Seinfeld himself," says Jared Mosen, head of New York brand-placement firm Alliance. "They were all part of creating some fun in the show. The benefits to those brands were incredible, but that was never paraded." In a show that frequently named on a character's obsession with a product or experience, such specific brand references made sense. This kind of

## PRODUCT PLACEMENT BEYOND TV

**MUSICALS:** Friends over Broadway: U.S. advertising firm Wieden + Kennedy is currently completing the financing on a multi-million-dollar, book-ended musical called *Rock*, which will feature like products, the show's sponsor.

**MUSIC:** Interwoven to many of her base, *Colbie Corbett* has a multi-themed single, *You and I Were Meant to Be*, was actually dummed up (and co-written) by the CEO of Montreal ad agency Martel, as part of a campaign to promote the artist's album. Martel client, Air Canada. To further extend the connection, Air Canada planes are featured in the song's video, taking slowly part as Ben belts her heart out in an online hug.



**CELLPHONES:** Last month, Vodafone and Fox announced a collaboration on the first ever dramatic series designed specifically to air on mobile devices. The co-branded three, a mobile of Fox's *24*, will consist of one-minute episodes, called "microisodes," custom made for viewing on tiny cell-phone screens.

**FILM:** Last year, the private GTD starred opposite Dennis Hopper in a TV movie co-produced by General Motors called *The Last Ride*. As upcoming a remade children's



feature called *Foodfight!* gone even further: it has been designed from the ground up as a vehicle for ads. Set for release later this year, the film is about a madcap crew of product mascots—including Mr. Potato, Mrs. Butterworth and Twinkles the Kool-Aid—who come alive in a supermarket like one night and have to defend the store from the villainous Dr. Evil X.

**BOOKS:** Last summer, popular British chick lit author Cecile Matthews struck a deal with



Pond to integrate its Pesta compact into her latest effort, *The Sweetest Thing*, about a free-wheeling single woman.

Matthews is following in the footsteps of *Way* before, another best-selling British author, who, in 2005, was paid to write a novel featuring Bulgari's jewelry. A spokeswoman for the Italian jeweler declined comment.

**VIDEO GAMES:** McDonald's made a deal with game-maker Electronic Arts to have its brand integrated into *The Sims Online*. Players are invited to build their own McDonald's restaurants where their Sims characters make virtual profits on the sales.

**BLOGS:** The next frontier for branded entertainment? Blogs. In late 2004, Microsoft, a Vancouver-based communications firm, introduced its Blogosphere Program, through which it recruits influential bloggers who commit to mentioning Microsoft's clients on their blogs in exchange for \$200 a month. So far, 15 have signed up.





## WHAT THE NET TAUGHT TV

Online ads boomed, died, then came back reinvented. Now it's TV's turn.

**A FEW YEARS BACK**, while the dot-coms were crashing, two fundamental beliefs took hold of virtually every executive in the advertising business. The first was that personal video monitors, which allow television viewers to record their favorite shows, then skip past the commercials, are going to be the death of TV advertising as we know it. The second was that the Internet is an immensely creative medium for advertising.

It's now clear all these old guys were only half right.

PVRs are indeed spreading throughout North America, and that has accelerated the

decline of the traditional 30-second TV ad. Recent studies only confirm what most viewers already know: we feel bombarded by irrelevant ads all day. More than half the TV watchers polled in one survey thought television marketing was "out of control." For years, people struggling to tune out commercials had only one ally: the mute button. Now, PVRs are the couch potato's ultimate anti-advertising weapon.

All this has led ad guys scrambling to catch up with their disappearing audience. They're moving into ever more sophisticated product placement and branded programming deals. They're investing in long-form ads intended to blur the line between entertainment and marketing. And, lo and behold, they're turning right back to the Internet.

Online advertising surged in the late 1990s, and then tanked by 27 per cent between 2000 and 2002. But the comeback has been equally striking. Ad revenues hit US\$7 billion in the first nine months of last year, up 16 per cent from a year earlier, and were on pace to make the second US\$8.2 billion in sales collected in 2000.

The boom, bust and subsequent arrival of online ads is a microcosm of the crisis currently playing out for television marketers. Those TV guys are being forced to answer the very same question that their Internet cousins faced a few years back: how do you keep getting to a consumer who seems determined to avoid your message?

To understand how Internet ads evolved, you first have to understand what killed them. In the early days of the boom, people called the Net the "information superhigh-

way," and so, not surprisingly, advertisers built the equivalent of roadbed billboards to reach the masses. Banner advertisements across web pages, urging readers to click and be redirected to a sponsor's site. As with regular billboards, consumers simply looked for a busy intersection, took their banner special reward for customers to start flowing in. In the early days, it was estimated that about five per cent of web users clicked the ads. But by 2001, as the novelty wore off, only about 0.5 per cent were clicking. Faced with plummeting ad sales, some major firms decided there was only one solution: BIGGER BANNERS. Shockingly, that idea didn't work. Turns out, neither did dozens of online business models, and soon the overhyped dot-com phenomenon came crashing down.

**JUST AS** most of the world was giving up on Internet advertising, a few clever folks figured out what was wrong: you can't annoy the customer into buying your stuff.

But just as most of the world was giving up on Internet advertising, a few clever folks at places like Google and Yahoo!—and later at Microsoft, figured out what was wrong. Bigger banner ads failed for the same reason: 30-second commercials are failing now you can't annoy the consumer into buying your stuff. So these new Internet pioneers coined so-called "sponsored search" ads, which compel buyers to have their ads appear prominently when users look up certain keywords. If somebody searches Google for "online bookstores," Amazon.com pays to have its name show up high in the results.

Advertisers love it because they pay based on the number of people who actually follow the links to their sites, allowing them to closely track the return on their marketing investment. Consumers like it because the ads are closely tied to what they're searching for anyway. New Internet technology that allows greater information-gathering about website visitors is even breathing new life into the once-overlooked banner ads by better targeting people most likely to click them. For example, a recent test by American Airlines and the *Wall Street Journal* aimed ads at specific readers based on their likelihood to read travel and airline stories.

What do these innovations have in common? They recognize the problem at the core: that people seek out themselves. Just like product placement on TV and films, the sell is embedded—part of the experience rather than an addition from it. Consumers tell marketers what they're interested in, and advertisers control how they send their messages and to whom. Early results suggest such targeted product generates a better response, and people find them less intrusive than the TV-commercial model—even though almost every webpage now carries some form of advertising.

Television's developing tools to take this idea even further, bearing different commercials to neighborhoods based on

demographic patterns. For example, luxury products can be promoted in affluent areas while bargain goods target lower income zones. It's all about reducing the clutter. As one industry insider put it recently, "Today's concept of producing blanket TV ads will be analogous to dropping leaflets out of an airplane."

If it's right, and these innovative TV campaigns are heading for extinction, the industry can thank the online crowd for showing them what works and what doesn't. ■

Read Steve March's writing, "All Business" at [www.entrepreneur.com/columnists](http://www.entrepreneur.com/columnists)



## Preventive Health It's a Better Life

Let's redefine "the good life." Because a healthy lifestyle is really what will make you feel better.

Aside from the occasional doctor's suggestion that he go on a diet, Edmonton IT consultant Saul Ansbacher never really gave much thought to his weight. Sure, he had packed on the pounds in the last few years—at 5' 10", he was up to 239. But he was a busy guy with a career, a wife, two cats, two dogs to walk and volunteer work.

When his wife suggested they join a local walking group together, Ansbacher, 28, figured it would be a great way to make some friends, have some laughs and get a fancy "Walking Group" T-shirt. The group met twice a week and walked for about half an hour throughout the neighbourhood.

Several months later, Ansbacher

stopped at a bathroom scale for a lark, and his jaw just about hit the floor. Fifteen pounds had magically disappeared—without his even trying. Imagine what would happen, he thought, if he did try.

Ansbacher started having salads with every meal, drinking more water and eating more veggies. He gave up

sugared pop, stopped watching so much TV and took the stairs instead of the escalator whenever he could. Today, about one year later, Ansbacher runs with his dogs, brushes teeth and is holding steady at 155 pounds. "I feel better," he admits. "I also think I feel better about myself."

Of course, that's just the tip of the iceberg. All these changes have likely added years to *Archie's* life—and reduced his risks for chronic diseases, including heart attack and stroke, some types of cancer and diabetes. It's a lifestyle that all Canadians could benefit from.

Up to two-thirds of us have at least one modifiable risk factor for chronic disease, whether it's being sedentary, having sedentary eating habits, being overweight or smoking. But even gradual steps towards healthy eating and activity would make a huge difference to improving health, says Bonnie Heitmeier, executive director of the newly formed Chronic Disease Prevention Alliance of Canada (CDPAC).

CDPAC was formed a few years ago to promote healthy living countrywide. It is a partnership of more than 50 national and provincial organizations, including the Canadian Cancer Society, Canadian Diabetes Association, Diabetes of Canada and the Heart and Stroke Foundation. While these are programs already in place to reduce smoking (and they're working), CDPAC is focusing on ways to help Canadians improve their diets, increase their exercise levels and lose weight. Specifically, the alliance is working towards public policy changes such as building better walkways and bike paths, banning unhealthy trans fats in food, as well as pack food advertising directed at kids, and funding incentives for employers to make workplaces more healthy.

In the meantime, individuals can make their own changes, too. Here are dozens of ways to help reform your lifestyle—and your community—and prove that prevention really is the best medicine.

## DIET THE EASY WAY

A healthy diet improves health and helps you reach and maintain a healthy weight. Check Canada's Food Guide to Healthy Eating as well as The Health Check ([www.healthcheck.org](http://www.healthcheck.org)), the Heart and Stroke Foundation's program for healthy eating guidelines based on reducing fat and sugars and increasing fruit and vegetables, complex carbs and fibre.

While there are policies already in place to reduce smoking (and they're working!), CDPAC is focusing on ways to help Canadians improve their diets, increase their exercise levels and lose weight.



Here are some easy ways to improve your eating habits:

- Switch to something healthier: from pop to water (with lemon if it helps), whole bread to whole wheat, scrubby lettuce to romaine, vegetable oil to olive or canola.
- Eat a healthy breakfast so you aren't tempted by mid-morning snacking.
- Pick a nutritious lunch so you aren't tempted to go for fast food. A great recipe: make leftovers into soup by adding a beetroot cube and water. You'll eat less and feel full longer.
- Confused about portion size? Fill your plate this way: one-quarter protein, one-quarter carbohydrates and half vegetables. And use smaller plates.
- Need a sweet? Buy snack-size dark chocolate—it's full of antioxidants.
- Need energy for ferrying kids around?

How long do you need to work out to burn the calories you just ate?

You can find out by using the Heart and Stroke Foundation's handy Food and Fitness calculator. Go to [www.heartandstroke.ca](http://www.heartandstroke.ca) and type "tools" in the site search engine.

to various activities? Stop at the local grocery store for a ready-to-go pack of cut fruit or veggies or low-fat cheese slices.

- Fast food is nasty? Supreme and Divide—share the too-big meals with a friend.
- After shopping, immediately cut fruit and veggies into bite-size pieces and store in clear containers in the refrigerator.
- Have a glass of water or milk, soup, an apple or a small amount of fiber before each meal, to help decrease your appetite.

Just what the doctor and dietitian ordered.

There's a reason more doctors and dietitians recommend Becel than any other margarine. Becel is low in saturated fat and has no trans fat.

[www.becelcanada.com](http://www.becelcanada.com)

Becel takes your health to heart.





## FIGURING OUT FAT

Canadians have reduced their total fat intake over the last two decades but Health Canada says we are still consuming too much of the bad stuff—saturated and trans fat. Here's how to tell the difference between the good, the bad and the ugly.

### The Good: Polyunsaturated and monounsaturated fats

Polyunsaturates lower blood cholesterol levels and are found mainly in vegetable oils, soft margarine and some fish and shellfish. Monosaturates tend to lower cholesterol and may also help the body maintain proper levels of "good" cholesterol—they're found in canola, olive and peanut oils and in avocados. Both are liquid at room temperature.

### The Bad: Saturated fats

These fats raise the blood levels of the so-called "bad" cholesterol (total LDL cholesterol) which is a risk factor for heart disease. Usually solid at room temperature, sources are animal products (such as butter and meat), certain vegetable oils like coconut oil and palm oil, and hydrogenated vegetable oils.

### The Ugly: Trans fats

Trans fats raise bad cholesterol levels but also reduce the blood levels of the so-called "good" cholesterol (HDL cholesterol), which protects against heart disease. They are created when liquid vegetable oils are hydrogenated or turned into hard fat like shortening, and are found in processed foods like cookies, cakes, crackers and in meat fried in oil.

100 laughs a day (the average for adults) is equivalent to the physical benefits of riding a stationary bike for 15 minutes.

Laughing stimulates the brain, strengthens the lungs and reduces heart rate, blood pressure, respiration and circulation.

## BEAT STRESS

In stressful situations, the body releases adrenaline and other hormones that make the heart work harder. Eventually, says the Heart and Stroke Foundation, your arteries may suffer, putting you at risk of a stroke or heart attack. Stress also causes some people to overeat

while others turn to alcohol or tobacco. The thing to do is manage stress better in the first place. Here's how:

**Laugh more.** Grab a funny video or book, or call someone you know with a good sense of humor. Laughter is your body's natural stress-release mechanism.

**Procrastinate.** Rusher than leaper out of bed at the last possible moment, set the alarm a few minutes early and lie in bed and organize the day.

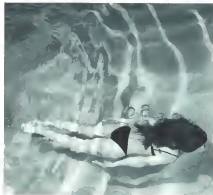
Put the dog or cat or borrow one. Studies suggest that pets help to reduce stress.

**Get more B vitamins.** They help boost levels of serotonin, the mood-releasing brain chemical. Eat more fish such as salmon or mackerel, pork, chicken, dried peas and beans, whole grains, seeds and dried fortified cereals.

**Deal with stress.** When you feel yourself rising up, or this "stress attack" from the Canadian Mental Health Association, gently tilt your head from front to back, side to side. Open your mouth and slowly move your lower jaw **Find time to relax.** For example, at some airports there are spa facilities where travellers can have a massage while they wait for their flights.

*I am Julie*

*Last vacation was the first time I ever dared to wear a bikini!*



## What would you do with a few pounds less?

I tried and tried to lose weight on my own for so long. Then a friend at work told me there are medical weight loss treatments available and said I should go and see my doctor. I'm glad I did — my doctor was fantastic. If you want to start losing weight, you should ask your own doctor.

## Ask your doctor about Julie's story.

MEDICAL TREATMENT OPTIONS AVAILABLE





## GET PHYSICAL

Geoff Tremaine, a YMCA Canada fitness manager in Calgary, says it's important that we change our thinking and make physical activity a part of our day-to-day life. Here are 10 ways to get active without making a big deal about it:

1. Wake up 15 minutes earlier and go for a quick walk, or do some yoga or stretching.
2. Organize "walking meetings" at work, use a wireless phone and walk while you talk; go to your co-worker's desk to talk rather than e-mail.
3. Take the stairs: Walking flights of seven floors or less is often faster than the elevator. Health Canada says climbing just two flights of stairs a day could result in a loss of six pounds per year.
4. Try a pedometer: Diane Frengard, director of a program called Canada on the Move ([www.canadainthemove.ca](http://www.canadainthemove.ca)) that tracks participants' activity via pedometers, says the inexpensive instrument conveniently clips onto your waistband and counts every step you take. Once you get into the program, "instead of bemoaning the fact that you have to

How many calories do you just burn taking the stairs?

Go to Health Canada's calorie counter at [calways.hc-sc.gc.ca/calculcare](http://calways.hc-sc.gc.ca/calculcare) to find out.

take public transit or walk today, you'll be happy you're adding to your total count."

5. If it's en route, bike with your kids to school, then carry on to work.
6. Make a screen saver that reminds you to get up and walk around or put a prompt on your computer to remind you to stretch.
7. At home, between commercials, try stretching, sit-ups or pumping jacks.
8. Change family games right to family dance night—put on some music and get your beat rate up.
9. Instead of sitting on lawn chairs during your kids' soccer games, walk laps around the field, instead of shoveling during their holiday games, go up and down the stairs.
10. "Actively volunteer." Plant trees, help in a community kitchen (standing on your feet lifting things for two hours is better than nothing), walk dogs for the local humane society.

## GET ALL KINDS OF EXERCISE

Canada's Physical Activity Guide recommends 30 to 60 minutes of physical activity most days of the week. If that sounds intimidating, health experts say doing three or more 10-minute segments of activity a day will still make a big difference. Here's how to include all those components of fitness.

**Endurance** (for the heart, lungs and circulatory system)  
**What:** 30 minutes of moderate aerobic activity four to seven days a week (a moderate pace makes you breathe a little harder but you can still carry on a conversation)  
**Do it:** Walk briskly, cycle, skate, swim, dance, golf without a cart, even propel your wheelchair if you require one.

**Flexibility** (for mobility, balance and reflexes)  
**What:** Regular activities that involve stretching, bending and stretching  
**Do it:** Tai chi, yoga, structured stretching class, dancing, bowling, yard work, vacuuming, mopping the floor. Remember to warm up first.

**Strength** (for strong bones and muscles, good posture, balance and independence)  
**What:** Regular activities that involve lifting or pushing  
**Do it:** Learn the weight machines at your gym, do a strength training class or video, do other strength training exercises such as abdominal exercises and push-ups.

## ADVOCATE CHANGE

You can make it easier for people to choose healthy activities by advocating common-sense changes in the community. Kim Baine, director of the Centre for Health Promotion Studies at the University of Alberta in Calgary, provides these tips:

- Ask not to buy snack food from the cafeteria at work. The power of institutions may change inventory practices.
- Lobby for shower facilities and bike racks at your workplace so you have the option to bike in.



- At work, organize healthier office lunch activities.
- At your children's school, organize walking groups. Volunteers walk to school with groups of kids so it's safe.
- At parent meetings at your kids' school, raise the issues of healthy food in the cafeteria and physical activity in the daily curriculum.

- If you're not involved in school, send in comments by visiting school Web sites.
- If your kids are in a sports league, talk to facilities' owners and concession stand operators about healthy food alternatives for children.

## THE REWARDS OF BEING ACTIVE

Regular physical activity can lower your risk of heart disease, arthritis, diabetes, high blood pressure, cancer, osteoporosis, stroke and anxiety. It enhances quality of life, improves a social outlet. You'll look better and enjoy better results, balance and self-confidence. You'll increase the likelihood of pleasant things later in life. You'll be giving your children a good role model. So the more good health habits start this way.



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# Do you have type 2 diabetes?

## Reduce your risk of complications.

The Canadian Diabetes Association has lowered the recommended targets for your blood sugar levels. This quick and easy test will show you whether you need to be reassessed by your doctor to prevent or delay the onset of long-term complications.

- 1 I have type 2 diabetes and see my doctor only when I have a problem. ☐ YES ☐ NO
- 2 I've been managing my type 2 diabetes using the same diet, medication and activity levels for several years. ☐ YES ☐ NO
- 3 When I test my blood sugar levels at home, my pre-meal blood sugar values are always high. ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T TEST
- 4 My A1C level is always higher than 7% (A1C is the test your doctor performs to measure your average blood sugar levels over the previous three months). ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW
- 5 When I test my blood sugar levels at home, there is no consistency in my test results. ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T TEST
- 6 My type 2 diabetes has led to other medical problems, such as symptoms of kidney disease, heart disease, stroke, vision damage or nerve damage. ☐ YES ☐ NO

☒ If you answered "Yes," "Don't Know" or "Don't Test," in any of these questions, ask your doctor how to achieve the new recommended blood sugar targets. Keeping blood sugar levels at the new targets have shown to help delay or prevent the complications arising from diabetes. (Canadian Diabetes Association 2012 Clinical Practice Guidelines for the Prevention and Management of Diabetes in Canada)

There's a lot more to know about managing type 2 diabetes than just blood sugar levels. Find out how to manage your diabetes more effectively by visiting: [www.diabetes.ca/managingdiabetes](http://www.diabetes.ca/managingdiabetes)

Know who to turn to



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Education | BY ANN DOWSETT JOHNSON



## DRIVING A FRESH AGENDA

Rae is steering Ontario toward a brighter future. Hang on for the ride.

**BOB RAE IS GOOD** with a crowd. Not Johnny Carson good, but good all the same. On a balmy evening last fall, while 2008 Canadians were preparing for Thanksgiving week, the former premier of Ontario sat at the foot of a handsome lecture hall at Niagara College, facing a capacity crowd of disgruntled parents and students, professors and presidents. In suits and ties, chairs and Rehearsals, on a day and in a room where they had come to air their grievances with the province's ailing post-secondary system. "I'm warning you," said Rae, as he watched the tongue-tie pleas swirl up, "this isn't Opende!

We're not hand-picking free-ans." He passed "This is your right, I'm not here to listen."

And then he did, as one by one they took the aisle. For two straight hours, they told him about their lives of crowded classrooms and student debt, of big dreams and dead ends. He nodded and prodded and hovered. He made no bones about the fact that Ontario, home to 40 per cent of Canadian students, marked dead last when it came to provincial post-secondary funding. At the end of the evening, he made a promise: "This is not a theoretical exercise. Something is going to happen." And as he headed out, he closed with a plea: "This is how my wife's definition of a defeated premier's farewell: one gets into the back seat of a car and is surprised when it doesn't move."

Nice joke, now a little dead. Last week, Rae was squarely in the driver's seat, delivering his blood-sugar blueprint for overhauling Ontario's post-secondary system. Coherent, pragmatic and passionate, Rae's report outlines a comprehensive series of recommendations that, if implemented, would significantly change the quality of education in Ontario, and the very future of the province itself.

Calling for a \$3.1-billion fix, Rae wants to see an investment of \$3.1 billion in operating grants for colleges and universities by 2007-08, money to boost overall quality, \$540 mil-

lion for building and equipment, and a further \$300 million in student aid, ensuring free tuition for the most needy. He wants to remove any experience in graduate education and skills training. And he's challenging the federal government, with a healthy slap, to be a "worthy partner" in this vision: he's asking for a dedicated transfer for colleges and universities. Good for him.

And tuition? Rae is recommending that colleges and universities be free to set their own fees—after there has been a total overhaul of the highly flawed student loan program. Once a new system is in place, he believes Ontario's tuition freeze shield end.

In other words, Rae is calling for a \$2.5-billion fix to invest education and prosperity.



he's asking everyone—governments, families and students—to help fix what's broken.

You have to hand it to Mr. Premier: Bob Rae. It was an inspired move to go the predecessor to do the heavy lifting on this one—in essence, an enormous exercise in public relations. Rae and his team spent months crossing the province, meeting with more than 5,500 people in round table discussions and town hall sessions. For the premier, who won the toughest part of the job? He doesn't pause: "Convincing the public, that's not most in charge."

We baby boomers parents have high expectations of our universities. We were the beneficiaries of a well-funded system of higher education, provided at partnership—and yet we have not made to investment a priority. For some time, Roger Morton, dean of the Rotman School of Management at the University of Toronto and chairman of the Institute for Competitive and Prosperity, has been warning that not under investment in higher education accounts for a sizable portion of our prosperity gap with the United States. "Canada's in an \$800 billion gap," says Morton. "It's a colossal under-investment—primarily in education—that is absolutely required for prosperity."

Last week, in a hot fire, Alberta, Premier Ralph Klein made it clear that education would be a top priority this year. In a one-sided address, he unveiled a tuition freeze and a pledge for a new tuition policy, plus plans for \$60-million post-secondary spots by 2020. This on top of the recently announced grants for education savings plans and a \$500-million endowment for medical research. Again, university administrators said: "This year, Canada's come on February—and there's more to come."

Bob Rae has done a masterful job in urging Ontario to follow suit. Now, there remains just one question: When a former premier gets into the front seat of a car, will the car actually move?

To comment: [ann.dowsett@edmontonjournal.com](mailto:ann.dowsett@edmontonjournal.com)

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PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL COOPER

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**ON SOME LEVEL,** cinema is still a sideshow. We count on movies to take us behind the curtain and show us something we've never seen before, something foreign to our experience. But in Hollywood's risk-averse, head-on-forwards-to-the-sun, amaze-and-mutilate, movie has become safe, makes steady midway rides into the familiar. For the truly exotic, we turn to documentaries and foreign films. This month offers a cinematic journey into America's vice cities. Born Into Brothels explores Calcutta's red-light district through the eyes of its children. And in *Nobody Knows*, four abandoned kids spend months finding

for themselves in a Tokyo apartment.

**Inside Deep Throat** is without precedent—a documentary produced by a major Hollywood studio and stamped with an adult NC-17 rating in the U.S. (Yes, there are glimpses of hard-core footage.) Narrated by Dennis Hopper and produced by Oscar winner Brian Coxner (*Apocalypse Now*), the film screens the cinematic example of the phenomenon it describes—the mainstreaming of pornography. Shot for just \$25,000 in 1972, and grossing some \$666

help from a doctor played by Harry Belafonte, a camera operator who was peered into across when the male lead failed to show. *Deep Throat's* hysterical success triggered a conservative backlash, as various levels of government moved to ban it. In one weird twist, a prosecutor argued that by celebrating titillating stimulus, the film was promoting "the wrong kind of orgasm."

Harry Belafonte, who pointed just \$250 from *Deep Throat*, became the scapegoat. He was the first U.S. actor to be contacted for play-

dacity, strangely coinciding with America's increasingly censored media. Now still tales in a wardrobe malfunction to mobilize U.S. troops. And with no more than a flash of nipple serving as their WWII, the sexual revolution seems more remote than ever.

Despite the tide, there's nothing fatal about *Born Into Brothels*, which has won some 28 international bestows, including an Oscar nomination for best documentary. It affiliates us only with the thriller fan, and the hope it might save a few children from a destiny in the sex trade. Co-director Zana Briski, a Manhattan photographer, spent a couple of years documenting Calcutta's red-light district. Eventually she moved in, bought 20 point-and-shoot cameras for children of prostitutes, and gave up her own work to teach them photography. Some of the kids learn to take wonderful pictures, which find their way into New York gallery—and appear on an international out-



A photograph by 16-year-old Kachi from *Born Into Brothels* (Orion). Kachi was one of four abandoned children in *Nobody Knows*.

contingency the world through films, maybe they can avoid being captured by it. If photographs do indeed heal souls, these children are unmaking their fates.

**Nobody Knows**, another tale of deeper misdeeds, is fiction, but it's inspired by a true story. And with its four non-professional child actors, Japanese writer-director Kore-eda Hirokazu blends documentary verisimilitude with a beautiful sense of comedy. This is an exquisite film. It tells the story of four siblings who move into a small Tokyo apartment with their mother. Each has a different father. Only the eldest, a 12-year-old boy named Aki (Yuga Yûki), is allowed outside. The others are not supposed to exist. With the mother absent for long stretches, Aki runs the household. He

# POINTS OF NO RETURN

A *Deep Throat* doc and two stories of outcast kids explore the limits of erotica and innocence

adults, *Deep Throat* reconsidered the most profitable movie of all time. Surfing these sexual revolutions, it was the first porn film to find a mainstream audience. And it provoked a national controversy—sorry, but the tale straddles double standards—in a culture war that still rages, hotter than ever, between the forces of censorship and free expression. In fact, you could trace the whole arc of modern American voyeurism from the release of *Deep Throat*, which turned an obscene taboo into talk-show fodder, to the *Lawrence* scandal, which revealed and on the one hand that the recipient desired it was not.

Amazing, kinetic, millisecond—and deeply pedantic—*Inside Deep Throat* is a portrait of small-time pornographers flitting through a surreal time pornography. Gernard Derris was the stag-movie maker who discovered Linda Lovelace, a suburban girl with a sword-swallowing talent for film. He cut her as a woman who learns her cinema is in the back of her throat—with

inga pen, although his conviction was overturned in 1976, with men such as Jack Nicholson and Warren Beatty rallying to his side. Rumor: a recovered drug addict, now sounds sensibly embittered. Lovelace, who joined the *Feminist* anti-porn crusade in the '70s and died in a car crash in 2002, comes across as a mixed-up victim/opportunist. And Derris, who was recruited out of *Deep Throat's* profits by the media, shows us an endearing retiree, nostalgic for porn's golden age.

In the early '70s, porn had some cachet as entry-level work for independent filmmakers. It's since grown into a massive in-

dustry, strangely coinciding with America's increasingly censored media.

The kids become enraptured by the power to frame experience. One day they bring their cameras to the sea, which looks like a dive version of their own caged world, taking back at them. Another time, they take a bus to the beach. As they're unloaded onto the sand, they open a pool of water above his head and freeze the cascade in his lens. The video camera catches him catching the moment, which square magic. Throughout the film, which Briski co-directs with Ross Kaufman, there's a kinetic flow between the documentary shoot and the kids' shots, which merge in a delirium of color and composition.

By showing us an underworld through the eyes of children, *Born Into Brothels* sports a documentary pace that usually straddles between perfunctory and voyeurism. This is an inspiring story of kids learning to see. There's a grain to the cinema—some will dislike it, some won't. But we sense that if they



shops, cooks and keeps the accounts. Then the mother abandons them for good.

Over the winter, Aki runs on the rules, and keeps his siblings hidden. But as his mother's money runs out, and the kids become eager party, the household slowly disintegrates. With the power and sense cut off, the children do laundry in the local park and head winter from a fireman. These kids are urban castaways in a more losing *Lord of the Flies*. In this case, in the winter of cold, it's stripped away, what emerges is not savagery but a tragic innocence.

Shot in chronological sequence over four seasons, *Nobody Knows* unfolds like a time-lapse photograph. As the season's heat gives longer, we see the kids growing up before our eyes—especially Yuga, who anchors the film with a quiet power. He was the best actor print in Cannes' *Jeune Femme*, this movie is long and slow, but utterly riveting. It's the childhood. By the time it's over, you don't want it to end.

**TITILLATING** us only with the thrill of art, *Brothels* offers the hope it might save a few children from the sex trade

# GOURMET GLADIATOR

A Vancouver cook prepares to trounce his competitor on *Iron Chef America*

**SO, YOU'RE IN** the Big Apple to compete in TV's shinedown of cleaver-wielding competitors, and you need to be in food-fighting mode the next day. Just how do you prepare for *Iron Chef America*? If you're a healthy-conscious Vancouver restaurateur like Rob Feenie of Luscious fame, fine-tuning is the answer: you cut a tower to Grand Park for a run. Then, that afternoon, you buy comfortable shoes to help you sprint through the *Iron Chef* kitchen as you prepare five elaborate courses in just one hour (recently, one contestant completed only two). Being the first Canadian in the U.S. version of the show, you wear your patriotism on your feet—with a pair of pricey, Canada-designed, D'Squared sneakers with intricate flags on the heels.

But given that your trade is all about the pleasures of the palate, that evening you exercise your epicurean muscles. At 8:00, Feenie and his entourage arrive at Thomas Keller's Per Se, one of Manhattan's hottest restaurants, for a gourmet legfest. Much wine is consumed, along with delicacies such as white truffles (a generous 4 oz. among five people) and fresh oysters with caviar. One side ends at 1:30 in an and costs \$282,000. The size of rich food, like drink and gourmet terrapin oysters makes for a sleepless night. Yet on battle day, Feenie calls the Per Se blowout "the perfect sort of prelude to getting up this morning and cooking."

This installment of *Chef Chef America*, airing on Food Network Canada and its U.S. counterpart on Feb. 20, promises to visit Feenie, 39, to a new level of celebrity chef-dom. Despite complaints from some affiliates of "patronage" TV that the show, now in its second season, lacks the comic camp of the dubbed Japanese version, it's the highest rated series ever in FNC, and among the American network's biggest draws. The Feenie competition, which was taped last fall, often unprepared for exposure for this frenzied chef, who grew up training of hockey pucks, not Wolfgang Puck.

The Vancouver chef begins his defiance



Feenie (right) was exuberated by Montreal's long record of haute cuisine excellence

with haute cuisine when he arrived to Sweden as a high school exchange student. After Feenie and on the job training in Vancouver, and then teamed with leading European and American cooks, Feenie opened the first

**"WHAT people get to see is not so much me," says Feenie, "but that, my God, these guys can really cook in Canada"**

finey Luscious in 1999. Almost instantly, it became a temple of foodieism. Since then the restaurant—who has an eight-month-old son, Denver, with his fiancée, Michelle LaPorte—has written two cookbooks, opened Luscious's three-pronged nose-door neighbor,

Feenie's, and become host of Food Network Canada's *New Classics* with Chef Rob Feenie.

With the West Coast chef demented by the prospect of competing with Masaharu Morimoto, one of the show's quintessential "fame chefs" who alternate cooking an challenger? After all, Morimoto, 49, is a veteran of almost 30 Japanese and American *Iron Chef* cook-offs. "I was looking forward to it," Feenie declares on the eve of the battle. "What people get to see is not so much me, but that, my God, these guys can really cook in Canada. That's why far as someone it's not about losing. I really want to win."

As the competition begins, both chefs are presented with the show's secret ingredients—crab, in four varieties—and prodded to cook up a storm. They'll be judged on taste, presentation and originality by three food writers. Feenie's comrades in the crusty arena were at his chef de cuisine, Marc Andrieu, Choquette, and Luscious's executive sous-chef, Wayne Harris. During the taping, *Iron Chef America* host Alton Brown pays tribute to their home city—"It can be argued that chefs in Vancouver have access to the most gastronomical palate, most to gastronomical purity, of anywhere in North America because of their location."

Exchanging few words, the three Vancouverians prepare their French-meets-Asian dishes with true efficiency. Their concoctions include roasted saddle and crab in Thai yum yum broth, and roasted veal loin topped with crab and drizzled with hollandaise. Then in a low point: when the drowsy discover a fridge isn't cold enough to properly chill their crab dessert—yes, it's a puncheon containing fresh pineapple jelly. But the team finishes all five dishes with 35 seconds to spare. Do they win? What for the surprise with course.

# A GIRL NAMED ANNE

The iconic face of the Holocaust was once an ordinary child in an average family



**"I STILL BELIEVE** in spite of everything, that people are truly good at heart." A full of prophetic lines like that, *The Diary of a Young Girl* by Anne Frank made its teenage author the iconic face of the Holocaust. For 76 months, Anne chronicled her hopes and fears while her family hid from Hitler's Nazi occupiers in rooms above her father Otto's office. Believed to be Germans in 1944, the Franks were sent to concentration camps. In March of 1945, 15-year-old Anne died of typhus at Bergen-Belsen, just a month before British troops liberated the camp. Her diary was published in 1947. Now Otto's pre-war photo, not seen for the first time in Canada at Toronto's First Canadian Place (Feb. 28-March 10), show her to a startlingly new way, as extraordinary girl in an average family.

Glenn Feldman: Anne Frank, 1940s photo, not seen for the first time in her Montreal school. Otto Frank

# RASTAMAN RISING

As an African tribute proves, Bob Marley continues to inspire

*Rise up this morning,  
Sensational with the rising sun.  
Three little birds  
Pitch by my doorstep  
—Bob Marley, 1977*

**THERE ARE WAY MORE** than three of them, and they aren't birds. In fact, the birds that Rita Marley is trying to shoo out of the cardboard boom and into the Adiba Ababa evening sky look suspiciously like common pigeons. Gray Fiat. Not easily flustered. They ignore her waving arms and kicking legs and perch on the tip of the stage, cooing. "Sorry birds gone free," she screams automatically into the microphone. "Bob Marley's spirit free in Ethiopia!" In the pit down front, locals are scooping up the artist's escapes. Masi Masi, a university student, clutches two to his chest. "It will make them more and more," he says, pushing the birds together. "One love. One love."

Marley's efforts to earn a chorus of Happy Birthday to You for her deceased husband fall similarly flat. Even if that's what Ethiopians sing on such occasions, it's unlikely the crowd is comprehending much of the Jamaican patois booming out of the speakers across Mabel Square. During the 14 years of Mengistu Haile Mariam's communist dictatorship, this downtown plaza was dominated by giant portraits of Lenin and Marx. Tonight, it's images of the reggae superstar, and the logos of Coca-Cola, Sheraton Hotels and Ethiopian Airlines, corporate sponsors of the celebrations marking "Honor Rite!" Bob Marley's birth 40 years ago.

A little later, The Marley Brothers—Ziggy, Darcissa, Stephen, Kymani and Julian—plus another son, Rohan Marley, take the stage to pay tribute to their father (as his biographers are careful to point out, Marley had 11 "acknowledged" children by eight different women) with renditions of his many hits: "Rastaman," "I Shot the Sheriff," "Get Up,



The Adiba Ababa lets for Marley's with confirmed he wearing a powerful black top

Steel's *W*, in the VIP lounge area, largely populated by foreigners who have paid US\$400 to watch this free-to-the-public African Union concert from inside protective rings of armed harricades and armed police, the unrelatable perfume of garb hangs thick in the air. White lobs with dreadlocks dance with abandon. A middle-aged man with one leg and one arm, and a joint hanging from his lips, pushes his wheelchair against the speaker stacks and lets the bass thump through his body. In the rest of the square, a crowd of more than 200,000—overwhelmingly black, young and generally African—insists at something it can fully overhear, sing along, singing and playing to the music.

In early January, what would have been Bob Marley's 70th birthday passed without much notice. On the same February night, Paul McCartney is playing the halftime show at the Super Bowl—the safe and staidness re-joinder to Janet Jackson's jungle (although the U.S. Federal Communications Commission did log two complaints about the former Beatle's bare performance). Both these artists were bigger names in their time, and have sold millions more

records than Marley. Yet almost a quarter century after Marley's death from cancer at the age of 33, there's little question of whose musical legacy is more vital. Try to name another performer whose songs so effectively transcend barriers of language, age, culture, race. From American first parties to African slums, Indonesian beach bars to English pubs, Marley's music is the one constant element of the global soundtrack. Despite what his more devout Rastafarian brethren may tell you, Bob, the man, is long dead. Bob, the product—unintentionally the celebration in Ethiopia—is still being packaged so easily as chewing gum. But once the music starts playing, that's a truth that can't be denied. Bob, the symbol, is bigger than ever.

**AMONG THE MANY** shots that diplomats, aid workers and UN personnel receive before shipping out to the developing world may be one that excludes them against, even. How do they do you

explain something like the sparkling UN conference centre in Addis Ababa? All granite floors, white marble, polished brass, lacquered wooden desks and comfortable leather chairs, hidden behind high walls topped with electric fencing and razor wire. There's a fine-roofed shanty town across the street which doesn't look that different from the French Town ghettos where Marley grew up in Kingston, Jamaica. Except that it's a middle-class neighbourhood by Ethiopian standards—a country where the annual per capita income hovers around US\$100 and life expectancy is barely just under 45 years.

The conference centre is hosting the six-day symposium of the Marley birthday celebration, a three-day symposium, jointly sponsored by the African Union, World Bank and UNICEF, on the violence that music offers for the continent's women, youth and political leaders. On the day devoted to gender music, titled "No Woman No Cry," Dr. Debevoise Zewde, director of the World Bank's Global HIV/AIDS Program, delivers a grim primer of the factors—economic precarity, social and religious stigma, physical violence—that make it so difficult to combat the spread of HIV among African women. "If Bob Marley, the hero we are becoming, were here today," she concludes, "he would say, 'Act now!'"

It's not as far beyond the old sight of sex and no-wearing NGO workers and heavily dreaded Rastafarians having



Clockwise from right: Bob Marley; Bob Marley's son, Michael Shumers; Bob's mother, Cedricia



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cannot exchange on subjects like genital mutilation, there's an obvious consensus at work in the building. The projects facing Africa and the rest of the developing world are so grave, so intractable, that anything that focuses attention on them is worth trying to harness. It's the same reason popstar Billy Joel's recent *Sho'nuff* became a *Devo* forerunner, or how the music can do itself. The racial difference here is that the power of Marley's music, songs and music isn't limited to the West. The two songs—product of a short race once between a white army officer and a rural black guy—was almost universal blend.

Angelique Kidjo, the Grammy-nominated West African songstress, delivers an impassioned speech recalling what Marley and his music meant to her and her school friends growing up in Benin. "He inspired and provoked us to fight against every kind of darkness that keeps the light away," she says. Hollywood actor Denzel Washington, who is attending in his capacity as a UNICEF goodwill ambassador, fondly recalls seeing Marley and his band, The Wailers, play in San Francisco in the early 1970s. "His music is magic," he says in an interview. "It inspires young people because it's about change and revolution. It's music that says we can all truth to power."

Duffley Thompson, a Jamaican lawyer and politician considered one of the fathers of the Pan-African movement, says the musician's message resonates with anyone who's ever struggled against the establishment. And the 88-year-old, who de-fended James Kenyatta during the Mau Mau rebellion, knows firsthand about using the Rastafarian's plea for justice and unity to drive the continent's future. "They gave us the crown and legs the people," says Thompson. "We need a movement for the restoration of black dignity."

Marley may indeed be the perfect vehicle

for such lofty aims, but the fact that he has been unable to speak for himself since 1981 means his memory is freely being used to drive all sorts of causes. In Shashane, a dusty rural town 250 km south of Addis, there are hopes that Bob will fulfill prophecy, and bring profits, for a small community of Rastafarians. Although last Emperor, Haile Selassie, whom Rastas consider's divinity rather than a corrupt despot, is conventionally held, gave a 500-hectare land grant in 1963 so that his Jamaican followers could return to Africa.



Haile Selassie's former bodyguard is Bob's in Shashane, negotiating for Rastas

The price of the exodus has been glacial, however. The communists took back almost all the land, and the 100 or so "pioneer" families in the colony live in a legal limbo, with no Ethiopian citizens' rights. The Rastafarians would like to make Shashane a model community for the repatriation movement. And if Rasta Marley follows through on his pledge to publicize about moving, Bob's remains to Ethiopia—meant to draw media attention to the birthday celebrations. Although the concert is being banned into a DVD deal (above)—it would be a major industry for the colony. "It would be bright if the bones were buried there,"

says Baby K, a 68-year-old Jamaican immigrant. Sitting on the porch of her red, green and gold home, decorated with murals of the Emperor, Baby K laments that the Nyabingi church she and her husband, Donga Bledy, run, still holds members, doors and Jews. "We need money to build up the place," she says. "Now come music and sign the guest book and make a donation."

**THE MERCATO IN ADDIS**, an endless warren of crumbling shacks, broken pavement, overloaded trucks and plodding donkeys ("We call them Eshagras 'Nollawagras,'" jokes my guide), is supposed to be the biggest market in Africa. And you don't have to travel far inside to encounter Marley's music or likeness. In one space stall, four young men are gathered around a battered transistor listening to *Coming to Get to the End of the Road*. "We like Bob Marley's lot," says Mamdu Seifu, a 23-year-old trader. "I'd like to move to Jamaica." A couple of shops away, Mawleh Gamar, 20, is sorting out piles of black cotton. "The young people love Bob Marley," she says, "because his music is always talking about the struggles of black people and the need for Africa to unite."

At a reggae show in the upscale Trend nightclub on the other side of town, Wordwomen Mergasha and three friends are grooving to a Marley overblow. "Bob is my big," says the 30-year-old, a former resident of Vancouver. Rastafarians are another matter, though. "Most Eshagras don't really like them. We don't think Haile Selassie was a god. He was just a normal king."

Back at Mankel Square, Island Records founder Chris Blackwell, who's credited with introducing Marley to the world, marvels at how far the music has traveled from their Jamaican homeland. Last year, Blackwell was marking a magazine story on the 50th anniversary of Sir Edward Hillary's ascent of Mount Everest when he noticed a floral air filter in a photo. In the bar where Sherpas relax between trips, a poster of Marley hangs over the pool table. Blackwell shakes his head. "I don't think anybody compares to Bob. In the West, he would be in the top five of all time, but when you bring the rest of the globe into the equation, he's the biggest there's ever been, and will continue to be so." Another Marley song booms across the place. The crowd roars in agreement. ☐

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entertainer. These're celebrities, celebrities, and best of all, they're a variety of living beings. But in these water-circumstances sported in front of the television, one might even see the most elaborately scripted stage challenges to leave their special. Fortunately, all delicious natural sustenance—like shrimp crackers and waffles—are quite quickly gaining in popularity and hitting the shelves of mainstream grocery and convenience stores. It's proof that peddlars aren't the only foods that can be as fresh as air, pulled into odd shapes, and sold to mouth-watering effect. One panel tested four varieties for flavor and for how well they stand up to lengthy TV-watching sessions.



**THE VERDICT:** *Struck Flowers*—though, like *peñíscola*, they won't do much to help you meet in your size, price range. For spice addicts, the variety of strikes our French especially encourages, how'd only we could trace up what's on the table.



## What's in Store

Public Enemy signed. Flow Flow doesn't have a flavor yet, but Warner Bros. chose bag Snacks, a Philadelphia-based potato chip company, is giving a shout-out to urban chip lovers, with bags featuring inspirational messages from hip-hop artists. Lil' Ronnie's Got It Quilting With My Honey bags advise kids to "play in school." Available in America this same mch, or at [www.napostock.com](http://www.napostock.com).

**OUR PICK:** Who knows is unclear—your riding partner can't sit enough repetitions. A word of caution: more than a few at once will give you the look of a Whore.

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# HAVE YOU HEARD THIS ONE?

It's funny how the stories keep on changing in Paul Martin's Ottawa

## TIMES CHANGE

Take change with them. By Feb. 12, 2004, two days after Sheila Fraser refused her audit into the sponsorship mess, Paul Martin had decided that his first-day talking points ("I have no idea what was going on here") needed a little refining. So, in an Ottawa news conference, he said Jean Chrétien had fired him out because of political differences.

"It is no secret that I did not have an easy relationship with those around the former prime minister. It occurred primarily from the fact that we held different views on Quebec

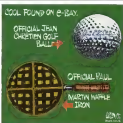
and that I wanted to succeed him," Martin said. "In short, my advice was not mutually sought on issues related to Quebec."

This was when Job One for Martin was to prove that he wasn't Jean Chrétien. In these days, some of Martin's helpers kind of find the sponsorship scandal

"Isn't this the perfect opportunity to demonstrate that you're an agent of change?" David Herle, Martin's campaign co-ordinator, asked Dean Newman on CBC Newsweek five days after Fraser's audit was released. "Isn't this the perfect kind of issue on which to say, 'Here is something that happened in a previous government—under a different administration—and as soon as it's come out, here's the actions I've taken? To me that is an agent of change.'"

Or not. Last week, Martin told a different tale to the Quebec inquiry (did he at on the peer-reviewed *Journal of Democracy* committee? Nope—) that he's undertaken to give his other responsibilities. "But who did he fire? The \$50 million a year unity ship fleet? That was a request from the Prime Minister's Office," he [whispered] readily agreed.

One happy flunky at Wednesday's closed-door caucus meeting, Martin led Liberals in a scolding session for the leader that he had, more or less as a group, Jean rather into a second ministerial appointment. Why the issue was breaking out on Chrétien? Because the so-called golden rule of the week's events by offering a splintered defense of his unusual unity strategy



The same "views on Quebec" that Martin once proclaimed he wouldn't touch with a barge pole.

One hesitates to show too much enthusiasm for Jean Chrétien's approach to federalism. First, it sounds like I'm trying to divert any malfeasance justice Gomery might turn up. I'm not. Second, malfeasance pecking, I say. Second, in many retold circles it is fashionable to dismiss Chrétien as a happy who couldn't shoot straight when it came to Quebec.

But the same people who now dismiss Chrétien's daisies that he was fighting a unity crisis spent the late 1990s warning loudly that Lucien Bouchard could hold a winning referendum in any minute. It's a bit rich to claim now that there was no threat then. How did Chrétien respond? Lots of ways. He transferred control of misperception training to Quebec and other provinces. He hired Stéphane Dine to write letters

dissuading the Parti Québécois' claims. He introduced the Clarity Bill, which says that Parliament must let Quebec know Canada in a haze of confusion over a stick referendum question.

And, yes, he used your tax money to splash the Canada logo across a lot of public events in Quebec. The waste that accompanied that policy is what's keeping Gomery busy these days. I never thought the viability campaign was a particularly useful part of Chrétien's unity strategy. But every time I covered a Parti Québécois meeting in the late 1990s, I found delegates gleaming with the PQ leadership to match the "federalist propaganda" program, because we had the sovereignty movement.

"If they didn't like it," Chrétien told Gomery, "that must mean it was working."

I believe it of this because I fear we might throw out the national unity baby with the Gomery bathwater. It's actually a good thing for citizens to know which level of government is providing a given service. It's a good thing for laws to protect everyone, even (especially) in a session crisis. And it's useful for the government of Canada to govern by its best understanding of the national interest, even if that looks "too federalist" in one province or other.

That's all any message to forget. "The second most powerful person in Paul Martin's government" is Jean Chrétien, "a member of Martin's government told me the other day, 'because this government's worst nightmare is that we might provide a unanimous resolution against us in Quebec's National Assembly.' The current regime's doom confrontation too humbly confrontational to contemplate."

Last week we saw one prime minister who stood for a few simple things. And another who stands for different things in different times. Change doesn't always look like improvement.

To comment: feedback@maclean.ca  
Read Paul Wells's weblog, "matters public," at [www.macleans.ca/powellville](http://www.macleans.ca/powellville)



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